The Outlook

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1905

The Struggle Against the Bosses

Although there are no elections for National offices this fall, there have been few political campaigns when voters—in parts of the country at least—have been roused more genuinely than they have been this past month. The reason for the concern with which men in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in New York, Maryland, Ohio, and California, and elsewhere, have discussed the tickets for which they have been called upon to vote, is not far to seek. As if by common consent, there has been a campaign waged against boss rule. How successful that campaign has been will be known before this issue of The Outlook can reach its readers. The election takes place between the time The Outlook goes to press and the time it is distributed by mail. Whatever the outcome, there are certain facts which this fall campaign have already established. One is that a genuine local issue, involving a principle of morals or right government, does not need the adventitious aid of an appeal to National partisanship. Indeed, if the local issue is made strong enough, appeals for party support in disregard of the issue can be made ridiculous. In Pennsylvania the Republican ring has failed to secure the services of even so strenuous a partisan as Senator Foraker. In New York City the same fact has been illustrated by the course which Mayor McClellan has taken. Two years ago he was appealing to the voters as a partisan, and arguing for partisan government of cities. This year he has not only omitted all appeal for support as a partisan, but he has found it necessary to reverse his former doctrine and to beseech Republicans to vote for him, in spite of the fact that he is a Democrat, on the principle of non-partisanship. In Ohio this same principle of non-partisanship has received impetus by the declaration of Secretary Taft that if public duty permitted him to be at home in Cincinnati on election day he should vote against the municipal ticket nominated by the Republican machine. Another fact which has been proved is that the boss is not as firmly intrenched as he presumes to be. In New York Charles F. Murphy and B. B. Odell, Jr., have been treated with scant respect by their own henchmen. In Philadelphia, in Ohio, and in San Francisco the bosses have been put upon the defensive. In Maryland leaders of both parties, including the Democratic Governor of the State and the Republican Secretary of the Navy, have united in opposing a measure designed to rivet boss rule upon the State. In Essex County, New Jersey, the boss has been put at the mercy of a candidate in his own party by a simple appeal to the people. Another fact that has been established, and not less important than these, is that conditions do not need to deteriorate into the vileness of open vice and outrageous criminal corruption in order to become unendurable. It is true that in Philadelphia the struggle is against political evils in some of their most repulsive forms, but in New York the struggle has been against the more abstract evil of boss rule and a less repulsive corruption which has been called "honest graft." The mere fact that an irresponsible boss has controlled nominations in New York has been made the occasion of an unprecedented revolt, and the mere fact that men in official positions have used their knowledge acquired in the course of their duties to give them advantage in speculative transactions has aroused a protest not unlike that which was once directed against the crudest form of blackmail. No disappointing outcome in any part of the country can deprive the American people of the moral stimulus which the campaign itself has created.

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Dishonoring the Flag

There could be no more encouraging proof of the soundness of American patriotism than the universal indignation felt in New York City last week at the misuse of the National flag. It is bad enough to have the flag of the country made a partisan emblem by any political organization through the tacking to it of candidates' names and factional war-cries; but it became unendurable when Tammany, the association that has most notoriously grown old in graft and intrigue and political buying and selling, had the insolence to declare by symbol that to it only could the interests of those who love the flag be intrusted. There has been in times past a great deal of bad taste and thoughtless disrespect exhibited in the use of the flag for business or advertising purposes; much of this ill-judged display followed the outburst of enthusiasm at the beginning of the Civil War, when almost every one had the stars and stripes printed on his letter-paper, and every other store was the "Union" shop or market. Excess of patriotic zeal in this direction has rightly been curbed by statute, Federal and State; and now it is positively forbidden in New York City, for instance, to display in streets or otherwise publicly the American flag with any printed or written matter whatever attached to it. There were several instances of the violation of this ordinance in the campaign just closed, and the application of the law was tardy and ineffective. Public sentiment should in future campaigns, regardless of party, insist on most exact and rigid deference to this proper regulation. But the instance mentioned above was far more than an exhibition of bad taste; it was an insult to all honest patriots, an unparalleled piece of insolence, a public assumption of exclusive virtue by a notorious political prostitute. Moreover, it was a calumny on the men and party it was meant to attack. There is not and never has been any political faction of appreciable size in New York, or in the country, that hates American institutions or the American flag. However wild or chimerical or radical the views advocated by the Municipal Ownership party may seem to some, and however obnoxious may be the personality of their candidate, it was a gross libel for their opponents to place the red flag upon a banner and declare that the Hearst party stood for anarchy, while by the side of the symbol of revolution was placed the American flag with the brazen assertion that it was to be upheld by Tammany exclusively. The crowds that hooted the display and furiously denounced it were perfectly right in so doing, and it is to the honor of the supporters of the calumniated party that they tore down the red flag and trampled it under foot. This is not Russia; the emblem of revolution is not needed here; our radicals mean to gain their ends by argument, lawful agitation, and the ballot-box, and if defeated at the polls will behave like good democrats and good citizens.

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Reform in the Government Printing Office

The appointment of Mr. Charles A. Stillings, of Boston, as Public Printer of the United States, is a definite and effective step towards the reform and retrenchment in the Government Printing Office which, as The Outlook pointed out in its issue for October 14, is so much needed. Mr. Stillings is a comparatively young man, free from entangling political affiliations, and is an experienced managing printer. With these qualifications he should be able, if he is persistent and if he receives proper Congressional support, not only to reduce the cost but to improve the quality of the enormous volume of printed matter turned out annually by the Government. If Mr. Stillings proves to be the man of character and technical skill that the President by appointing him shows he believes him to be, he will exercise no small influence upon Congressional action with regard to Government printing. The Public Printer can himself put a stop to corruption, waste, or inefficiency in the mechanical and business administration of the Government Printing Office, but Congress must determine what reports, papers, and books are to be printed and in what quantities and manner they are to be distributed. The Congressional investigation now in progress in Washington by the Committee of which Rep-

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resentative Landis is chairman has brought out some interesting testimony regarding what may fairly be called corrupt extravagance in Congressional printing. Speeches, reports, and illustrated books are printed in such numbers that they cannot be disposed of even by free distribution under Congressmen's and Senators' franks, and the Sergeant-at-arms of the Senate testified that he had been compelled to rent an abandoned car-barn in which to store this worthless but costly material. The amount spent by the Government Printing Office during the fiscal year ending last June was over $6,700,000; the estimated budget promises a saving of over $900,000. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Stillings can make this estimated economy a real one. In order that he may have fair play his salary should be increased by Congress from the entirely inadequate sum of $4,500 which now goes with the office; and he should be freed from the irritating obstructions which have in the past been placed in the way of the Public Printer by political place-hunters. We hope that the Landis Committee may recommend to Congress some plan for selling Government publications through the local post-offices. Such a plan has already been outlined by The Outlook. It would not only save unnecessary expenditure but would insure the reading of Government reports by those who really need them.

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Southern Opinion of the President

Although, unfortunately, the press in the South, as in other parts of the country, fails to lead public opinion as it should, it does reflect measurably the most significant changes in popular sentiment and feeling, and it is skillful in selecting for utterance those views which will have the greatest political weight. The fact, therefore, that Southern newspapers of Democratic adherence express admiration for President Roosevelt, and confess a change in attitude toward him, is an interesting confirmation of the belief which we have already expressed, that the President has won from the people of the South a warm allegiance, the more striking that it is not political, but personal. The Nashville "American," which has had some bitter things to say about Mr. Roosevelt in the past, acknowledges that the President's former unpopularity in the South was brought about by acts which he committed "unwittingly and without malice aforethought," and it adds: "He and the South understand and appreciate each other much better than they did. He is far more popular in the South than any of his Republican predecessors ever was, and more popular than Mr. Cleveland was during his second term. . . . There are sectional features which are inherent, and there is sectional pride which is commendable, but there is a National pride, which includes the highest of patriotism, which every citizen of this Union should feel. President Roosevelt has done and is doing all he can to promote and strengthen this spirit of National union, fraternity, and pride in a common glory and common destiny." That this growing admiration for the President is due not merely to his personality, but also to the improvement in the character of Federal officials in the South, is not only implied but explicitly stated. The Birmingham "Ledger," for instance, which is convinced that the President has experienced a "very decided change of views" regarding the South, so that he "now knows that the South is not all wrong and designedly wrong on all National and all race questions," makes this acknowledgment: "Alabama has no cause of complaint. Mr. Roosevelt has given us good appointments and we appreciate it." The Outlook believes that the real cause for the praise which has been uttered in the South is due less to a change of opinion on the part either of the President or of the South than to a better mutual understanding and acquaintance. The people of the South were gratified to discover that Mr. Roosevelt came as an apostle not of "social equality" but of a "square deal" between the races. The Charleston "News and Courier," which does not hesitate to be blunt when it wants to be, thus admirably and intelligently summarizes Mr. Roosevelt's message to the South concerning the race problem: "President Roosevelt's treatment of the

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negro question during his Southern tour is deserving of every praise. The advice which he gave to the whites and blacks alike in this connection was adequate and admirable. He appealed to the white people to do justice, and he appealed to the negroes to strive to deserve their citizenship. He declared that the burden of solving the negro problem rested on the Southern people, whites and blacks. He said that the rest of the Union should help, not hinder, their work. He told the negro his best friend was his white neighbor at the South, and he admonished that same white neighbor to extend a helping hand whenever the opportunity offered to the negro. The President said all of this, and said it well and wisely." The fact that these principles, which are not new with President Roosevelt, can be thus stated sympathetically by a newspaper uncompromising in its Southern convictions, indicates how readily the South will respond to an appeal to its conscience and its sense of justice when that appeal is made not in self-righteousness but in the spirit of faith in the people and in the future. The few discordant notes struck by some editors were so petty as to be funny, and only gave emphasis to the general harmony of opinion. So wide was the circle of friends that the President made during his tour that the graceful compliment which the "News and Courier" paid him is not altogether an exaggeration: "While Mr. Roosevelt was on the ocean the whole world was at sea." Certainly no public man has carried home with him so many Southern hearts.

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Captain Vawter

We Americans little consider how rich this land is in men of great spirit; we therefore little know how much poorer the land is when such a man as Captain Charles E. Vawter, of Virginia, dies. Circumstances kept Captain Vawter's reputation circumscribed. He was, for one thing, the superintendent of a school, amply endowed, which by the terms of its foundation could not admit pupils from beyond the confines of the county in which it was situated. The Miller School had a National reputation only among that limited number of educators who recognize the moral and mental significance of such industrial training as that supplied there. He was, moreover, a man of astonishing simplicity and modesty, whose soldier-like tenderness won the warm personal affection of his friends. Indeed, the qualities that made him the great-minded, great-hearted man that he was are of the sort that are felt rather than defined. Southern in birth, breeding, temperament, and ideals, born in the country, schooled partly in books, partly in the Confederate army (in which, under Stonewall Jackson, he won his title), a loyal son of the University of Virginia, he put his fine qualities and his great ability first at the service of the poor white children of Albemarle County, and secondly at the service of the negroes of his State. He was a crystal-gazer of the only genuine sort; he saw all his life long in the most poverty-stricken children, whose minds were most dwarfed and whose characters least developed, the future of useful and vigorous manhood and womanhood. Some of the children he has trained came from Hessian stock that has been in a condition of arrested development for a century and a quarter. Yet, by a skillful use of manual training, he stimulated their dormant powers. He dignified labor where labor was despised; he proved that the most impotent and nerveless can be made energetic. He dignified industrial training, by making it the medium for the education, not merely of the lethargic, but also of the naturally capable boy and girl. No less characteristic than his achievement in this respect was his faith in the negro race. His knowledge of negro failings never once hurt that faith, and his faith was justified. He had ambitions, not merely for individual negroes, but for the black race in America as a race. He strove for its distinct and characteristic development, and, in spite of obstacles, strove well. Every sound social, educational, and benevolent movement of importance in Virginia had his courageous support. He must be ranked among the real leaders of the South.

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Railway Rate Regulation

The hearings recently held at Washington by the Inter-State Commerce Commission have clearly brought out the fact that great railway companies like the Pennsylvania and the Illinois Central, owning together about six thousand refrigerator cars, can and do supply them to shippers at a rate lower than that of the private car companies, with which they have no connection. On the other hand, the testimony of shippers along the lines of the railways operated in connection with private car lines shows that rates can be made reasonable, though they are not always so—indeed, the profits of private car companies are more often disproportionate to the service rendered. As a whole, the hearing added force to the movement towards bringing private car and terminal companies under the control of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. As to increasing the power of the Commission so that it may substitute proper maximum rates for those shown to be unjust and unreasonable, Senator Foraker recently made the following statement in opposition: "It is universally admitted that in the past many evil practices have obtained, that some of them still obtain; that none of them should be allowed to continue; that an efficient and expeditious remedy should be provided against all of them in so far as legislation can provide. The sole difference is as to whether conferring the rate-making power on the Inter-State Commerce Commission is the only or even a necessary remedy. My contention is that it is not necessary, and that of all the remedies that have been suggested it is unqualifiedly the worst." It is probably true that at the present time shippers do not suffer so much from excessive rates or rebates as they do from discrimination. Congress undertook to deal with all three abuses when it passed the Elkins Law. According to that statute, when any unjust discrimination was found to be practiced, it should be the duty of the Inter-State Commerce Commission to institute proceedings in the United States Circuit Courts for an injunction. Mr. Foraker and others seem to think that this law still covers the whole ground, though they agree that, when a complaint is made, it should be the duty of the court to proceed summarily, postponing all other business to enable it to do so. Many more observers, however, we believe, find the law insufficient, because it puts the burden of proof, not on the companies which ought to bear it, but upon the small shippers and the public whom it is designed to protect. It is evident that it is the big shippers who are chiefly interested in maintaining the existing condition of unjust discrimination. Of those who find the present law unsatisfactory a large number would be gratified to see the Commission given specific power, not only over private car lines and over rate substitution, but also, if possible, over the books of the railway companies, examining them as the books of National banks are examined by the National bank examiners.

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The Inter-State Commerce Law Convention

From the creation of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, under the Act to Regulate Commerce, in 1887, up to the decision of the Supreme Court ten years later, the Commission exercised substantially the power, where a given rate upon complaint and investigation was found to be unreasonable or unjust, to substitute what was a reasonable and just rate. When this decision was made, many shippers felt that the Commission had now become a body with power only to investigate and to suggest. In 1901 fifty shippers held a conference in St. Louis. As a result, at every session of Congress during the past four years a measure has been introduced to re-confer this power upon the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Last year a second conference was held at St. Louis, at which two hundred delegates were present. When the third conference was called—to meet in Chicago—the railway interests became alarmed, and sent representatives into every State for the purpose of sidetracking this movement as far as possible. Five hundred delegates appeared, and also about three hundred representatives of the railways. The railway delegates wanted to persuade enough of the five hundred

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to unite with them to form a majority of the convention, and so be able to prevent the adoption of resolutions along the lines of President Roosevelt's recommendations concerning railway rate regulation. The Executive Committee of the Inter-State Commerce Law Convention took measures to insure that only delegates properly belonging in their convention and in sympathy with the call for it should be admitted to the hall. The result was that about four hundred of the five hundred delegates were present. In addition to indorsing the amendment to empower the Inter-State Commerce Commission or some other administrative body to substitute a reasonable and just rate for one found to be unreasonable and unjust, the Chicago convention asked Congress to place under the control of the Inter-State Commerce Commission the private car and refrigerator lines and the private terminals. The "bolters" also organized, under the title "Federal Rate Regulation Association," and passed the following resolution:

> We are unalterably opposed to conferring upon the Inter-State Commerce Commission or any appointive agency the power to prescribe specific rates for transportation, believing that such action would prove a dangerous experiment, inimical to the best interests of commerce and the continued development of this country. Recognizing existing evils connected with the transportation interests of the country, . . . we demand the most rigid enforcement of laws which, if found to be inadequate, should be so amended as to provide speedy, efficient, and permanent relief. We recognize the great and almost universal dissatisfaction with the inter-State commerce laws, as now administered or enforced, as due to the delay in reaching a determination of questions demanding early and final settlement, and we urge upon Congress the imperative necessity for providing the necessary machinery for relief.

This recalcitrant body, in other words, professes to favor relief, but opposes the adoption of the means suggested by President Roosevelt by which relief may be practically and quickly obtained.

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Mr. Tyler on Porto Rico

Mr. Charles W. Tyler is printing a series of interesting papers in "Harper's Weekly" on the record so far made by Americans in Porto Rico. His first article presented a comprehensive statement of the discontent with American administration, his second described the misuse of power and abuse of office on the part of certain American officials, and his third discusses the misadjustment of laws and taxes. If, on the basis of discontent with certain injustices, political agitators in Porto Rico have organized an anti-American propaganda, we are gratified to note that Mr. Tyler does not fail to mention other circumstances, underlying these, which have also contributed to give vitality to whatever agitation there is—conditions inevitably arising in the transition from Spanish to American administration; the clash of racial prejudices, the barrier of language, the habits and traditions of civilizations so wide apart in certain fundamental principles as the Latin and Anglo-Saxon, and represented in a strenuously accentuated form by the Spanish and American Governments. On this as a basis discontent has been strengthened by an unworthy appointment here and there, and has been further strengthened by the misadjustment of laws and taxes. One judge has held, for instance, that the old Spanish law still obtains as to land transfers; another insists that the American law supplants it. Admitting that Spanish assessments and valuations were worthless, the entire tax distribution had to be reorganized. The task first fell on Dr. Hollander, and then on Mr. Willoughby, the Treasurers of the island. Despite much trouble due to incompetent assessors, the net result of the labors of the Treasurers showed that, for the first time in Porto Rican history, a generally just and equitable taxation system had been applied to the island. Dr. Hollander's testimony concerning American officials is also noteworthy. In a recent address he claimed that "more care has been given to the selection of the Porto Rican administrative officials than to any other body of men of similar number and dignity. And yet there have been mistakes made." It has been the custom for the Porto Rican local press to visit upon all American officials one common condemnation; whereas there are and have been many appointees in Porto Rico of

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whom the American people may well be proud. The Outlook believes the unworthy appointee in Porto Rico to be the exception, not the rule. There can hardly be, however, a too careful selection of officials or a too clear indication of the beneficent intentions of our Government. There should also be an increasing participation of natives of capacity in the affairs of the island. Two industries need attention—coffee and sugar. The first should be restored; the second has been temporarily checked by the law forbidding corporations to be extensive landowners. Of course the intention of the framers of the law was, as in the Philippines, to defend Porto Rico from the trusts and monopolies, and it is at least a question whether the ultimate result will not be beneficent. It appears to us, from all the information we can obtain, that the American administration has accomplished much for the island's advantage. We may not have accomplished all that we ought, but we are far from having ignominiously failed.

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Mr. Bird on Porto Rico

Mr. Bird presents to our readers, in this issue, probably the strongest case that can be made for enlarging the political powers of the natives in Porto Rico. In considering the question which he so ably puts before them, our readers must bear in mind the following principles, which appear to us to be fundamental: (1) This Nation is responsible for good government in Porto Rico. It is responsible to secure the rights of property and person, and it cannot relieve itself of this responsibility by delegating its power until it is quite sure of the political capacity of those to whom it delegates it. (2) It is easy to give political privileges; it is almost impossible to take them away. The evils in our own country of a too unqualified suffrage demonstrate this truth. So does our conferring of Statehood on some Western Territories which were not prepared for it. Experience says, It is better to go too slow than too fast. (3) Industrial and educational progress are essential to political control. No political changes will make or ought to make the people of Porto Rico happy if they remain ignorant and poor. (4) The first problems for Congress, therefore, are the educational and industrial ones. It is our first duty, not to give them self-government, but to give them the conditions necessary for self-government and for self-support. (5) The first result of improvement is generally increased discontent. Aspiration grows more rapidly than achievement. When no one can read or write, all are contented. When there are free schools for a quarter of the population, the other three-quarters demand schools also. When poverty is universal, it is endured as unavoidable. When a considerable number rise into a better condition, the remainder grow restless and often demand as a remedy what would only be an aggravation. The discontent in Porto Rico is one evidence of improved conditions, as the hunger of a convalescent is one symptom that he is getting better. (6) While such discussions as those of Mr. Tyler in "Harper's Weekly" and this of Mr. Bird in The Outlook are desirable, because popular interest in the conditions of our insular possessions is indispensable to securing for them just consideration from Congress, the details of administration must of necessity be largely left to the Government in Washington, and that Government must be judged by general results, not by specific instances of complaint which may or may not be justified.

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The Russian Risings

At St. Petersburg last week there was a continuation of rejoicings because of the birth of civil liberty. Citizens decorated their houses, street celebrations were held, and congregations composed of all classes of society assembled in Kazan Cathedral and in the other churches of the capital to give thanks. With special reference to the Czar's name, thousands of candles were burned before the images of Nicholas, the Miracle-Worker. In the capital, however, as throughout the Empire, the populace was divided into two camps; on the one side the Constitutionalists and Liberals; on the other, the reactionaries and the revolutionaries.

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In their expressions of discontent, the reactionaries and so-called "Loyalists" seemed to outdo any machinations of the revolutionaries, especially at Odessa and in the neighboring towns, where the disorders are believed to have been dictated by St. Petersburg bureaucrats in revenge for the concessions recently granted, and with the object of creating the impression that Russians in general do not desire the new order of things. The Liberals contend that General Kaulbars, Governor of Odessa, had all the means to stop the outbreak in its very first hour, and that his inactivity during five days of massacre and his protection of the murderous rabble in the guise of patriots prove the real origin of the trouble. Jews were the principal victims of the Odessa carnage, in which hundreds of persons were killed and thousands wounded. Reports indicate a renewal of the massacre of Kishinev. At Kiev, Romny, Rostov, and other places in South Russia also the Jews have suffered. The participation of students in these and other disorders caused the publication by the Czar of a ukase in which he condemned the presence of members of schools and universities in the street demonstrations, and justly declared that "the State is threatened with a dangerous increase in the number of those whose respect for authority and order is radically shaken while they are still in the school-room." On Saturday of last week the Czar signed another ukase freeing political prisoners and abolishing the press censorship. While the effect of this throughout Russia proper is gratifying, the rising in Finland is not to be so easily checked. The people there have demanded the resignation of the Governor and the formation of a national Finnish unicameral assembly, to which all classes will have the right of election. At Helsingfors, the capital, the Municipal Council has formed a Committee of Public Safety and has declared itself to be in position to maintain order. For this purpose it has voted several thousand dollars and meets twice a day. It will be impossible for a Scandinavian worthy of the name not to feel a thrill at the news of this revolt in what is racially really a sister State.

The Downfall of the Reactionaries

Last week was a notable one for Russia, for it marked the downfall of certain powerful reactionaries. Chief among them was Constantine Pobiedonostsev, Procurator of the Holy Synod of the Russo-Greek Church. His resignation removes the most formidable obstacle to Russian progress. He has been Russia's evil genius, for he has blocked every attempt to introduce constitutionalism. His resignation marks the completeness of the Czar's surrender, for between Emperor and Procurator there has heretofore existed a sympathy inherited from Alexander III., who was once the Procurator's pupil. Closely following this announcement came the almost equally significant news that the Grand Duke Alexander, the Czar's brother-in-law, had been relieved of his post as head of the Department of Mercantile Marine. Alexander is the last of that influential quintette of Grand Dukes who have been Nicholas II.'s close advisers. To the relief of Liberals and to the confusion of reactionaries, all five are now out of office. A fortnight ago the Grand Duke Vladimir was relieved of his post as Commander of the Military District of St. Petersburg; a month ago the Grand Dukes Alexis and Michael were relieved of their posts as, respectively, Grand Admiral and President of the Council; while last winter the Grand Duke Sergius, Governor of Moscow, was murdered. The ending of autocracy was emphasized last week, not only by the elimination of these reactionaries, but also by an Imperial ukase reorganizing the Council of Ministers. By its terms, reports of Ministers are to be communicated to the President of the Council as Prime Minister, instead of, as hitherto, direct to the Emperor.

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Universal Suffrage in Austria-Hungary

As was expected, the Russian rising has found an immediate echo in Austria-Hungary. In Austria last week the Congress of the Social Democratic party at Vienna unanimously resolved to emulate the example of the Russian Social Democrats. A resolution

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was passed demanding the immediate convocation of the Reichsrath "for the sole purpose of substituting for such a Parliament of privilege a system of national representation based on equal and direct manhood suffrage." The resolution declared that all attempts at procrastination would be opposed by extreme measures—a general strike, for instance, as in Russia. In support of these demands, an orderly demonstration of six thousand persons took place in the Ringstrasse, on which the Imperial palace, the Houses of Parliament, and the City Hall are situated. Though the immediate cause may have been the example of Russia, the Vienna demonstration's ultimate cause was that of Hungary. For some time the Government of that country has been faced by a majority Opposition composed of a coalition of Liberal and Radical parties. The Emperor of Austria, as King of Hungary, has repeatedly asked various leaders of this coalition to form a Cabinet, but without success. A fortnight ago he reappointed a Ministry, acceptable to himself, but not to the majority in Parliament, the favor of which, under the Constitution, should be essential to the Cabinet's existence. In order to avoid a vote of lack of confidence and a possible impeachment of the Ministry, the King has now prorogued Parliament for two months. Meanwhile, Baron Fejervary, the Premier, is by no means content with merely defensive tactics. He has shrewdly and courageously taken the aggressive, acting, of course, under the King's wise direction, on the basis of a programme agreed upon between them.

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Baron Fejervary's Programme

As might have been expected, Baron Fejervary's programme does not grant the coalitionists' principal demand, that of the use of Magyar, or Hungarian, as the language of command in the Hungarian contingent of the Imperial army. But the men will be trained in Magyar, as far as possible, in all regiments in which that language is understood, the language being spoken by only half of the total Hungarian population. A far more important and inspiring provision in the programme is that for compulsory free education. Other provisions include compulsory insurance of workmen, the granting of small farm holdings to farmers, the conversion of the mortgage debt of small landed proprietors, taxation and tariff reforms, and, most startling of all, universal suffrage with secret and direct ballot. Baron Fejervary may well cry "Checkmate," for the coalition leaders, his present political enemies, are opposed to universal suffrage. They are Magyars. As representatives of the most educated, wealthy, and powerful race in the kingdom, they have long enjoyed absolute political control. But universal suffrage would so increase the non-Magyar elements in Parliament as to deprive the Magyar leaders of much of their ascendency. At present these leaders are strong enough to defeat the King's magnificent programme, announced by Baron Fejervary. But such a defeat would place them in an embarrassing position. They would have definitely assumed an attitude which belies their name of Liberal. Thus, whether they accept or decline the issue, the King may already have compassed their defeat at the next election. For the King's appeal—as broad-minded as it is adroit—is not only a formidable one; in our opinion it is irresistible.

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Missionaries Murdered in China

Last week, at Lienchau, China, Mrs. Machle, her little daughter Amy, Mr. Peale, Mrs. Peale, and Dr. Eleanor Chestnut, missionaries of the Presbyterian Board, were killed and the buildings destroyed. One of the missionaries killed, Dr. Chestnut, was a physician who had devoted herself for years to ministrations to the sick and injured, and was beloved by multitudes who cared nothing about Christianity. Of the others one was the wife and another the daughter of a physician, Dr. E. C. Machle, and the other two, the Rev. and Mrs. John Rodgers Peale, were new missionaries, who left America last August. Lienchau is a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants, in the northern part of the thickly populated province of Kwangtung, near the boundary line of the prov-

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ince of Hunan. It is about two hundred and fifty miles from Canton. One way to reach Lienchau is by a winding river, navigable only for small boats. The journey by this route from Canton occupies about three weeks. The land journey, however, may be made in less than four days. The nearest white men were some Baptist missionaries nearly four days' journey westward, some English and German missionaries about the same distance eastward, and some American Presbyterian missionaries at Chingchau in Hunan, five days' journey northward. The Lienchau station was established nine years ago. At first the people were suspicious and hostile, but, though threats were occasionally made, no open attacks of violence were committed. Gradually the beneficent purpose of the missionaries became known, and then their position became more secure. During all the Boxer outbreak in 1900 neither property nor person was injured at Lienchau. The mission work steadily prospered there. Residences were erected for the missionaries. Boarding and day schools were opened for both boys and girls, at which the demands for admission have been so great that many applicants have been turned away for want of room. Two hospitals were built, one for men and one for women. Last year Dr. Chestnut, at the woman's hospital, treated nearly fifty-five hundred patients. Dr. Machle, at the men's hospital, treated over seventy-five hundred patients. Converts multiplied until in the city of Lienchau there is now a church with an adult membership of over three hundred; the congregation had just completed a new church edifice seating seven hundred people. There were four other organized churches in other towns in the station district, while there were little groups of believers in a considerable number of outlying villages.

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Possible Causes of the Lienchau Attack

In the opinion of Dr. Arthur Brown, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board, it would seem probable that the attack was made by some mob which had gathered for another purpose, the occasion giving to lawless characters that opportunity for plunder and possible bloodshed which such characters are apt to seek in similar junctures anywhere in the world. The report that the massacre was due to Dr. Machle's protest against a street theater near the hospital Dr. Brown thinks not improbable: a physician solicitous for the welfare of his patients might reasonably protest against the intolerable din of a street theater; and yet the fact of such a protest does not appear to be an adequate provocation for the destruction of an entire compound and the murder of five persons, of whom three were women and one a little girl, while the only man who was killed had but just arrived. Dr. Brown is satisfied that some larger and deeper cause must be sought. A possible influence may have been the growing consciousness of unity and power resulting from the recent operation upon China of certain forces of the modern world. This has been noticeably increased by the results of the late war. Such a new national consciousness has led to a feeling of irritation against the United States because of the American concession for the Canton-Hankau Railway (though that has now been canceled by the Chinese Government), but more particularly because of the unjust operation of the exclusion laws in this country. This feeling was specially noticeable in the province of Kwangtung, as nearly all of the Chinese in the United States have come from that province. Exaggerated reports of their treatment here have exasperated many of the people and caused the recent boycott of American goods. Up to the present there has been little if any interference with the work of the missionaries. On the contrary, the people seemed to realize that the missionaries were not in China for purposes of trade, and were not responsible for the treatment of the Chinese abroad.

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A Great Museum Maker

Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, formerly director of the South Kensington Museum in London, and now director of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, arrived in this country last week. In

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some very interesting and frank newspaper interviews he gave not only a promising outline of his plans for the Metropolitan Museum, but also a very happy impression of his own personality. So far the Metropolitan Museum has been distinctively an art gallery, a show place, "a pleasant place," as Sir Purdon expresses it, "for people to parade in on a rainy day." It is now proposed by Sir Purdon, without in the least sacrificing the fine arts—the pictures, the statues, the gold coins, the fine porcelains, and the like—to lay a greater proportional emphasis on the industrial arts. This purpose was illustrated by one of the members of the Board of Trustees, who related the following incident to the reporters: "When I was in the South Kensington Museum this year, I saw a man copying some carved wood, and I asked him what he would do with the copy when he had finished it. I was astonished when he explained that he had been sent to make a copy for a furniture firm in Detroit, and that he would take it home for the firm to reproduce. The museum here should be so well supplied that Americans interested in such work would not need to go abroad, and that is the intention of the new director." Sir Purdon believes that when the new buildings of the Metropolitan are completed, it will be in capacity and contents one of the most comprehensive institutions of its kind in the world. For the finest art treasures of Europe, as he points out, are rapidly coming to America. His testimony regarding our absurd tariff on art is worth repeating: "The greatest mistake and discouragement over here is the heavy duty that is imposed on art objects. They are kept out by the heavy duty. This does damage to your own trade. I can understand the duty on a watch or some other manufactured article, but I cannot see the reason for putting a duty on an object two thousand years old. There can be no competition. It is better for Europe that the United States does put a duty on art, for if it did not, there would be nothing left in Europe. When a good thing turns up, it is always America that is notified." The "interests" that are supposed to be protected by this duty, that is to say, the creative artists of America, are almost to a man in favor of the abolition of the tariff on objects of art.

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The National Prison Congress

Line upon line and precept upon precept must be the rule of a society working for similar reforms in forty-five different States, each of which has within itself as many prison systems as there are counties. The recent session of the National Prison Congress, meeting in Nebraska for the first time, made no attempt to startle the world with new theories; but it reviewed the steps of reform already taken, and in the light of experience re-emphasized their importance and the need of extending them. Chief among these was the so-called indeterminate sentence, now adopted by fourteen States. All of these States, however, have a maximum limit, and ten of them both a minimum and maximum limit, so that the real value of the indeterminate sentence is nil. No matter how vicious or criminal a man may be, under those laws he must be set free at the end of the maximum period. The very men from whom society most needs protection are those most surely flung back into the community to renew their criminal career. Thousands of such men are every year set free who should be kept behind bars for life, unless they give evidence of ability and determination to lead honest lives. Knowing that they cannot be thus held, they snap their fingers in the face of the authorities, and simply obey prison rules to the extent of lessening even the maximum by the good-time law. One of the strongest pleas for the betterment of the present plans by the establishment everywhere of an indefinite sentence—that is, a sentence without limit as to time fixed by the court or the law when it is rendered—was made by Judge G. S. Robinson, of Iowa, who showed the injustice to the criminal as well as the danger to the public of present methods. An indefinite sentence, for instance, would have made impossible such instances as he cited, one of which was of two boys sentenced in the same county, and pre-

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sumably by the same court, one boy getting one year for stealing $186, and the other boy getting five years for stealing a dollar. Said Judge Robinson:

> The means to counteract the effect of unjust sentences relied upon in most States are executive clemency and statutory provision for shortening terms by credits for good conduct. But neither remedy meets all cases. . . . The Governor is not usually selected because of fitness to administer penal laws, and he intrusts such matters to clerks whose recommendations are usually followed. . . . His clerks are commonly selected for political services or to discharge political debts, and may not have special qualifications for the study of prisoners. . . . Shortening the term of imprisonment for good conduct is a valuable aid to discipline, and operates well in many cases, but at best it is a crude and insufficient method.

His conclusions, which were warmly adopted by the Congress, were as follows:

> 1. Well-guarded laws permitting the suspension of sentences before imprisonment of persons convicted of misdemeanors and minor felonies are desirable.
> 2. Provisions for the indeterminate or indefinite sentence, applicable to commitments to reformatories and State prisons, should be included in the penal system of every State.
> 3. The release of prisoners serving indeterminate or indefinite sentences in reformatories and State prisons, their supervision while on parole, and their return for violating the conditions of parole, should be committed to a non-partisan board, secured so far as is possible from all partisan influences.

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A Needed Change in Reference to Men on Parole

With the iteration of work that should be done everywhere as well as here and there in favored places, there was one novel suggestion. The able and efficient superintendent of the Minnesota Reformatory for Men, Mr. F. L. Randall, speaking from long and successful experience, showed how hard it is to keep a record for a period of years of those going out from reformatories. Such a record is absolutely necessary if the real value of reformatory treatment is to be known. While the men report at stated times the parole officers can keep track of them, but when the jurisdiction of the reformatory ceases there is no way of following up their history. Mr. Randall suggests that some incentive might be used to induce persons to report when no longer required by law to do so. He said: "Wages might be allowed them while in the institution, and a certain sum might be withheld for a fixed period, with a requirement that they report at certain times; or, if wages cannot be allowed, a certain sum of money might be set apart for the purpose. This would tend to operate as a restraint, and would afford valuable statistical information in time." The former plan is pursued in Minnesota, and a vast amount of rather recent information in reference to it is on hand "which will perhaps lower the claims of some of the advocates of reformatories and of the indeterminate sentence; but it will be equally certain to disarm the numerous opponents of both." Those opponents who fear that an indefinite sentence will send men out of prison too soon will be surprised to learn that men sent out on parole, on an average, serve a longer sentence—in Indiana one-third longer—than those sentenced for a definite period. Major McClaughry, the broad-minded superintendent of the Federal prison in Kansas, the man who first introduced the Bertillon system of measurements into this country, who has since made such a signal success in the adoption of finger impressions as a means of identification, and who was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of the indeterminate sentence, is as ardent in his hope and work for a genuine indefinite sentence. He says: "We have passed away from the old definite sentence, with its inexorable character and its message of despair to the prisoner. The idea of the indeterminate sentence was at first deemed to be the cranky notion of visionaries, an impractical and impossible scheme, and the indefinite sentence was not even thought of. It is not much thought of yet, but it will be. It will come in its day and time, and the Lord hasten that day when it shall be the only sentence administered in any court of justice!" We have seen no report of what may have been said at the Congress in reply to one very natural objection to the indefinite sentence with no maximum limit; what is to prevent a criminal's being unjustly imprisoned for

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life when unscrupulous boards or wardens control his destiny?

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Graft

Graft may not be worse in American democracy than in Russian bureaucracy; not worse in the Republic in the twentieth century than in the French Empire in the nineteenth. But it is more widespread. In a democracy both virtues and vices more easily become epidemic. Graft is confined to no department, to no party, to no locality. It appears in the Federal Government and in the city governments, in the Post-Office Department at home and in the Consular service abroad, in Democratic New York and Republican Philadelphia, in Eastern Boston and in Western Cincinnati and St. Louis. Nor is it confined to governmental circles. It is quite as gross and quite as criminal in commercial circles—the little shops and the great corporations. Nor is any class immune. It is in the insurance official who buys bonds at par and sells them to himself as the finance committee of his company at an advance, and in his coachman who takes a commission on every purchase he makes for his employer. Not all men are dishonest; only a minority are dishonest. But dishonesty is so widespread that it is difficult for the honest man to do his business honestly. The would-be honest politician acquiesces in graft to get his nomination. The would-be honest manufacturer participates in graft to get his share of business. The would-be honest employer winks at graft because it costs too much to resist it. And in every organization men combine to cover up graft lest exposure injure "the cause."

What are we going to do about it?

I. Refuse to participate; either as payer or as recipient. Go without the nomination if it must be purchased by silence; without the business if it must be purchased by corruption. Honesty is an individual virtue. There is no way to make the community honest except by individual honesty. And no honesty is worth anything if the honest man is not willing to pay something to maintain his honesty. The honesty which is only a best policy is not honesty at all. But the American conscience is not dead; it only sleeps. What individuals who abhor what is evil can do to awaken the sleeping conscience, and how the conscience will respond when a man who is fighting honestly appeals to it, Folk in Missouri, Taft in Ohio, Weaver in Philadelphia, and Jerome in New York have demonstrated.

II. Probe and punish. "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved." Let the light in on evil-doers that they may be reproved. The man who dreads investigation confesses judgment. The more investigation is evaded the more it should be pushed. The higher a clue leads the more it should be followed. Much is said against washing dirty linen in public. Better so than leave it dirty. Jehovah, it is said, will bring to light the hidden things of darkness. We need not wait for the Day of Judgment for him to do so. He who is doing this service now is doing God's service. It is better to know the truth and suffer the shame than to live in a lie. Christ had something to say about men in his time who were like whited sepulchers, which appeared beautiful outwardly, but within were full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. Their successors are living in America to-day. To show them for what they are and bring them to the punishment they deserve is a first need of our American life. The more respectable the sinner, the greater the sin. Therefore provide for publicity. Publish the political contributions; require the great corporations to keep books which can be understood and to open their books to inspection by properly authenticated officers, for the information of the public. Dishonesty burrows and hides. Drive it from its hiding-places.

III. In politics put moral principle above political principle. "Principles, not men," is a lying motto. Behind this mask many a knave has hidden a shameful visage. A principle is an idle and useless thing if it be not incarnated in a living man. A man is a nefarious and pernicious personality if he does not incarnate true principles. A party is no

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more to be judged by its platform than a church by its creed. The religion of profession and the patriotism of profession are different phases of the same hypocrisy. So long as men care more for regularity than for righteousness in the men they vote for, political righteousness will be irregular and political regularity will be unrighteous.

IV. Discourage partnerships between the Government and individual enterprise. We cannot be wholly rid of such partnerships; but the fewer the better. There is something to be said for the philosophy that government should confine itself to governing and should leave all industries to private enterprise. There is much to be said for the doctrine that the people should engage in those industries on which the well-being of the whole community depends, whenever they can do the work better and cheaper for themselves than it will be done for them by private enterprise. But in the transition from the individualism of the past to the modified socialism of the future we have entered upon an era of extensive partnerships between government and private enterprise; and they are morally perilous. This is the peril in the protective system. It involves a partnership, rather a series of partnerships, between the manufacturers and the Government. It may be economically advantageous, but it is morally disadvantageous. Either socialism or individualism is more likely to be honest than socialistic partnerships. The American Government's combination with the Pacific railroads gave us a Crédit Mobilier; the French Government's combination with the Panama Canal Company gave birth to a still greater scandal. New York was wise to dig and own the Erie Canal; the United States is wise to dig and own the Panama Canal.

V. These are but palliatives and restraints. They may check the fever; they may prevent the fever-stricken patient from inflicting irremediable injury on himself and others. But the fever is in the blood; and the only true remedy is to eradicate it. We must convert the American passion for acquisition into a passion for service; we must substitute for $ a better insignia of honor; we must measure men by what they do and what they are, not by what they possess. Here is a call to the Christian clergy which too few of them have yet heard. No teaching of the Master more needs emphasis to-day from the American pulpit than this: "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

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The First Russian Prime Minister

Never before has it been in one man's power to ask of his sovereign such changes as those which Sergius Witte has demanded and obtained from Nicholas II.

As might be surmised, Count Witte is a man of dominating mental force. Born in Tiflis in 1849 of a father of modest German extraction and of a mother descended from the princely Dolgoruki family, his youth was spent in the mountainous region of the Caucasus. He was educated at the Tiflis schools and at the University of Odessa. He then went to work on a railway as station-master at fifty dollars a month. Before long he became assistant to the superintendent of traffic, and then superintendent himself. At that time Vishnegradski, later Finance Minister, was head of this particular railway. When he was called to the Cabinet, he provided that young Witte should succeed him. The Russo-Turkish War broke out. So important was the work done by Witte in the transport of troops that Vishnegradski summoned him to the capital and directed him to prepare a scheme to unify the whole Russian railway traffic system. In this Witte showed marked ability; hence, when the post of Minister of Communications fell vacant, he was appointed to it. The result was the successful inauguration by him of the plan for a Trans-Siberian railway.

In 1894 Vishnegradski was incapacitated by paralysis and Witte became Finance Minister, holding the position for nine years. In this department his accomplishments are justly regarded as monuments of exemplary achievement in economics. He fixed the standard

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of value of the ruble. He substituted a gold standard for the depreciated paper currency. Establishing industries on an unprecedented scale, he introduced a new element into Russian society. Finally he secured a Government vodka (whisky) monopoly, by which usurious private gains have been converted into a source of steady public income. Though he borrowed great sums during the term of his office, the Finance Minister doubled the Government's revenue. The total result of all these services was to make permanent and prosperous that which before had been in a state of flux. As no one had yet done, Sergius Witte has inspired confidence both within and without the empire as to Russia's economic future. He has sometimes been called the Russian Necker. Politically he is such, in influencing the Czar to proclaim a Duma, just as Necker influenced Louis XVI. to summon an Assembly of Notables, both bodies being only advisory, not legislative. As the calling of the Assembly of Notables showed the real power to lie no longer with the King, but with the leaders of the people, and forced Louis to summon into being the States-General, a fairly representative Parliament, so, in Russia, preparations for the Duma have shown the real power to be increasingly with the leaders of the people; hence, like Louis XVI., Nicholas II. has been forced to enlarge the electorate, making the Duma into a really representative body. Financially, however, Count Witte is more a Colbert than a Necker, for he has inaugurated no era of deficits; on the other hand, by the success of his borrowings, he has shown that Russia has possessed and possesses enormous potential power and consequent financial credit.

Magnificent as have been all these financial triumphs, the world to-day is thinking of Sergius Witte in his capacity as controller not of one but of all Cabinet offices. In December, 1904, in a Cabinet session, replying to the bigotry of the Procurator-General, Count Witte is reported to have said: "If it should become known that the Emperor is forbidden by law and religion to introduce fundamental reforms of his own will, a part of the population will come to the conclusion that these reforms must be achieved by violence—it would be equivalent to an actual appeal to revolution." This forecast was to be fullfilled in a month. Fortunately, the violence was to be met then by the counterpoise of timely advice from Count Witte to the Czar; it has now accomplished a startling result in Count Witte's conquest of the timid monarch. By it the reign of autocracy—centuries old—ended; by it the reign of constitutionalism began.

If Count Witte's latest task has been his greatest, he enters as Prime Minister upon what, we surmise, may be the hardest work of his life—to win and to hold the confidence of all classes of Russian society. The dislike of the court circle, the military clique, and the bureaucracy for him is also shared by some Liberals. It is not altogether due to class feeling; it is also due to two other causes. In the case of the Liberals, there is a feeling that at heart Count Witte is only a pseudo-Liberal. Himself of domineering disposition, headstrong, and brooking no contradiction, he seems temperamentally more fitted to act with autocracy than with democracy, with a despotic than with a parliamentary government. It is true that Count Witte's temperament is naturally impulsive, volcanic, sometimes seemingly reckless, as it certainly is always restless. In his case "the needle of human perfection trembles and does not invariably turn to the north." But, though brusque in manner, he has a kindly and affectionate disposition; his faults are the exaggeration of his qualities.

Again, his critics point out that his deeds do not always tally with his words. Some years ago he declared that "protectionism—as a means, not as an end in itself—can have only temporary importance, until the aim is reached for which it is intended. The natural death of protectionism will come when a sound national industry has been created and an effective competition has been originated within the realm. The logical consequence of protectionism is its self-annihilation." Yet, declare the critics, during this very period Count Witte was paying premiums on exports and protecting great industrial syndicates, thus keep-

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ing prices at the highest point, despite over-production, meanwhile doubling taxation and oppressing the peasantry beyond endurance. The inevitable result followed—a financial and economic crisis. This, however, was not so much the cause of Count Witte's retirement, three years later, from his position as Finance Minister, as were the personal and political differences between him and the reactionary circle, who, with the powerful Minister of the Interior Plehve at their head, were now controlling the vacillating Czar. Accordingly, the Finance Minister was "kicked upstairs." He was made President of the Committee of Ministers, a dignified position with no power. He may well feel complacent to-day as he reflects that he is now President of the Council of Ministers with vast power.

Finally, in the choice of expedients to obtain his ends, it is claimed by his opponents that Count Witte has not always been exquisitely scrupulous. They point to Portsmouth, where, after he agreed to secrecy, the Japanese peace proposals to the Russians were not only allowed to "leak out," but appeared in a somewhat distorted form. The senior Russian envoy's published excuse seemed in itself an accusation.

But, always loyal to his friends, and often conspicuously fair to his enemies, Count Witte has now a chance of winning the confidence of those who do not like or trust him. Deeds, not words, will count. He needs to make Russians of all classes feel that he is as sincere as he is strong. He can accomplish this by the scrupulous fulfillment of promises for educational, agricultural, industrial, and political reforms. To-day disorganization and panic prevail in all these departments of Russian life. That Count Witte can and will bring order out of chaos is assumed by most observers, because he has already done so. His triumphs in finance, economics, diplomacy, and statecraft have each been sufficient to entitle him to a high place in Russian history.

And Russia is to be congratulated by America. With the memory of his impression of America and Americans, gained during his recent sojourn with us, fresh in mind, almost immediately after his appointment the new Prime Minister sent a despatch asking that the people of this country rejoice with the Russians in their new liberties. Americans will give quick and hearty response. In no country does Count Witte find sincerer admiration. Americans wish him well. They wish Russia well. For the Russian Government and nation are about to be, we trust, what they never have been before—synonymous terms. When one speaks of the English Government, one means England. This has never been true of Russia. The chance of its accomplishment now seems to lie within the grasp of one man—Sergius Witte. Will he fulfill his whole duty? Few who have seen him and talked with him can doubt his earnestness, energy, and enormous capacity. But are his sincerity and human sympathy equal to the crisis—a crisis which demands the exercise of all the vigorous and praiseworthy qualities, evident and latent, of this masterful man?

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Not a Case of Starvation

The discontinuance of "Longman's Magazine" has been made the occasion for those melancholy outpourings on the decline of literature and the decay of the love of good reading which have been the stock in trade of weary essayists searching for a theme since Cave's "Gentleman's Magazine" first made its appearance in the good old days of Dr. Johnson. There were then no publishers in the modern sense of the word, although there were ambitious printers on the way to become publishers as fast and as far as the conditions of the times would permit, and there was no reading public in the modern sense of the words; there was a small group of people who knew and loved good things, upon whom the wit and criticism of the "Spectator" had not been wasted, and who recognized the directness and force of De Foe and the humor and pungency of Steele. The great reviews which were to do so much to educate English taste, the magazines which were to foster so many writers of high talent; the powerful and original literature of the close of the

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eighteenth and the beginning and middle of the nineteenth century, which was to speak for and to the English-reading peoples in their entirety for the first time, to break down class lines and to be read with passionate interest far more generally beyond academic circles and outside society than books had been read before—all this was still in the future; and yet not many years after Cave's "Gentleman's Magazine" had started on its career and had stimulated the publication of similar periodicals, there were conscientious but sad-hearted people who declared that the reading of magazines had told heavily against the reading of good books, and that the taste for sound literature was rapidly dying out!

There are times when things are so seriously out of joint that the first duty of the hour for all sane people is to cry aloud and spare not. But, unfortunately, crying aloud is a habit so readily formed, and sparing not is so agreeable a pastime to some temperaments, that the world is always full of prophets looking backward, like Jeremiah in Mr. Sargent's cartoons, rather than, like Malachi, looking forward. Pessimism is always the obvious interpretation of the drift of things, the easy and close-at-hand explanation of the failure of things as they are to become things as they ought to be. The judgment seat is a place of immense responsibility, to be occupied in a spirit not only of candor and courage, but with a wide outlook on human affairs, and some comprehension of and sympathy with human experience: it is often seized by gentlemen of a melancholy turn who mistake an inward for an outward condition, and read into the constitution of society the aches and pains of their own constitutions; who make a regular profession of what ought to be a special function exercised on rare occasions; who take upon themselves the great and solemn office of the prophet without the pitiful commiseration and the yearning for better things which made the denunciations of the prophets the judgments of a righteous but compassionate God. The seats of the mighty are too often the seats of the scornful, who, in their eagerness to condemn, pronounce judgment when they ought to be weighing evidence. A distinguished Harvard professor recently spoke of the late Mr. Godkin's "jaunty ignorance of the American temper and aims," at the time when he was airily wearing the robes of an infallible judge and gayly and most entertainingly condemning things of which he was as gayly and, at times, as amusingly ignorant.

Now, it is a matter of regret that "Longman's Magazine" will no longer lie on the library table. It was well written, well bred, with a pleasant air of good society and of leisurely hours in the library; it never lacked sound sense and excellent judgment; Mr. Lang gave it a touch of something individual and keen. But "Longman's Magazine" did not perish because it was too good for these evil days; it ceased to be because it was not interesting! It seems brutal to say this while the remains of this very respectable magazine are still warm; but if the community is to be held responsible for its demise, the truth must be told as a matter of justice. "Longman's" was not starved to death; it died because it had not sufficient vitality to keep it alive. Those who liked it—and they were not a few—will have the sympathy of all who value pleasant manners and agreeable traits; but they are doing a highly reputable publication serious injury, and are likely to give their mourning something of the vivacity of an Irish wake by accusing the neighbors of letting a deserving publication starve to death.

The right of the uninteresting to live is as definitely assured by the constitution, not only of the United States, but of the existing order of things, as the right of the interesting; but there is nowhere any recognition of their right to live off the community. When the community is asked for support, unless the appeal be made for the aged or the infirm, it has a right to ask for certain compensations. If it is asked to buy books, magazines, or newspapers, it is quite within its rights in insisting that what is offered it shall contribute to its pleasure or rest or edification. Well-informed but dull people are not in position to reproach a public which declines to hear them speak, or to read what they

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have written. An uninteresting magazine has no right to be in a world full of such great and ever-growing interests; for there is no connection, outside a German lecture-room, between sound learning, deep thought, and the finest quality of taste, and the prosy paragraph, the monotonous page, the solid stolidity of the well-meaning but unvitalized lecture, magazine, or book.

To be interesting is one of the highest functions of art in all forms; and it may be questioned whether anything gets into the region of art unless it is interesting. There are many examples of good, honest workmanship which are worthy of respectful attention, but the people who decline to take these well-wrought products of competent industry into their homes and live with them ought to be protected from the vituperation of the unthinking and jaunty censors of their kind. Interesting books and periodicals deserve a much wider reading than they yet command, and it is much to be regretted that they do not displace all inferior wares and possess the field; but it is quite evident that they earn a living wage, and are held in warm regard. The dignity of their aims and the excellence of their form do not repel the very considerable constituencies to which they appeal; and it may be suspected that this quality is the essential element in their success. But all the solid goodness in the world will not save, and ought not to save, an uninteresting book or magazine from extinction. The plays of Shakespeare and Molière would long ago have passed out of mind if they had not been interesting; and it is noticeable that this age is quietly making up its mind which of the novels of Scott, Balzac, and Thackeray are interesting and which are not; and when the ultimate judgment is rendered, it will be found that the books which survive are those which have the superior claims as literature. There are conditions that give solid ground for discouragement, but the discontinuance of a pleasant and well-bred periodical is not one of them; there are a number of magazines quite as well bred and well informed, and far more interesting, which survive in undiminished vigor.

The Spectator

The Spectator went a-peach-packing. Before one goes a-peach-packing, the natural supposition is that peach-packing is the simplest thing in the world. Had the Spectator been asked, ere experience tempered his spirit, "How do you pack a crate of peaches for shipment?" his offhand answer would have been, "Why, you just fill the crate with peaches. That is all." When the Spectator came back from the land of orchards, mule-wagons, and ox-carts (and buggies, carriages, and surreys, of course, but in these the Spectator took no delight) to the land of asphalt, trolley-cars, and automobiles, he gazed with a new eye upon baskets of peaches set forth in fruit-shops. He could discern whether or not their arrangement had been disturbed since they were started from their distant packing-house. He took modest satisfaction in parading his new accomplishment, and was somewhat puffed up when his efforts elicited the exclamation, "Why, how ever can you tell?" and somewhat cast down when his new acquirement was treated as a matter of no importance. A matter of no importance! Indeed!

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To begin at the beginning, as well-regulated story-tellers say, the Spectator must admit that he had slipped out of town for one of his numerous small vacations, which took him into the mountains of Georgia, between Mount Airy and Atlanta, in peach season. The section is one of new orchards; around the little towns of Alto, Baldwin, and Cornelis, where fourteen years ago there were only a few old-fashioned peach-trees scattered here and there and not one market orchard, there are now some half-million young trees, few more than five years old, and the large majority in their first bearing, which is usually at three; new orchards are being set out all the time, and it is a common thing to see peach switches growing up in everybody's pea-patch, corn and cotton field. The mountain-sides must be glorious in spring. "You can ride miles and miles through blooming trees and see nothing but mountains and valleys of pink as far as your eye can reach," the Mayor of Alto,

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the Hon. George Washington Grant, observed proudly. The orchards were attractive enough as the Spectator saw them, loaded with ripe or ripening fruit, their boughs almost breaking under blushing burdens.

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Now, the Spectator is not giving lessons in peach culture, but he is not ashamed to confess that he learned quite a good deal about it, while knowing that he might never make any practical use of the knowledge. He learned that rocky soil with a subsoil of a certain kind (he has forgotten what), hilly country, and isothermal belts, have something to do with indications as to land suitable for growing peaches; that trees are trimmed to be wide-spreading and low so that no bough may be out of reach of a man standing on the ground; that the productive life of a peach orchard is about twelve years; that trees require incessant care and watchfulness; that the crop has its risks in gathering, packing, and shipment; and that the fruit-grower's occupation is not a "snap" for a lazy or unenterprising man; to be successful, the fruit-grower must be literally like the early bird that catches the worm—in this case the "borer" which saps the life of the tree if its course is not interrupted before it reaches the root. But he learned that fruit-growing is fascinating in spite of drawbacks; and so, indeed, is any work, according to the way you look at it and do it.

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"We're going peach-packing to-day." A surrey had stopped in front of the "Astor House," as the little hotel is jocosely called. In the surrey sat two pretty girls in bepleated skirts and smart shirt-waists (the Spectator borrowed these terms from a feminine friend). Beside each girl was a beau in blue flannel shirt, blue trousers, tan leggings. The Spectator spied out a large lunch-basket in the bottom of the surrey. "You're making a picnic of this," he said. "Oh yes. We expect to have a good time." They enumerated the party they were to meet, all young ladies and gentlemen of their own set, quite exclusive; with, of course, the necessary quota of chaperons. "That is where I might come in," the Spectator observed, wistfully. "Oh, would you really like to go? We should be delighted. But there is work, you know," anxiously. "Yes, I should like to pack peaches—to be useful in a new way."

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The packing-house was a shed painted dark green. Down the center was a long table; suspended over it in troughs of bedticking were heaps of peaches, hard, firm, not fully ripe. On one side stood graders, large round baskets of peaches under their hands. Discarding the over-ripe and separating the large and perfect from the small and imperfect, they deposited these after their kind in the troughs; from the troughs the packers on the other side of the table transferred the peaches to crates reposing conveniently under their hands on benches. Fast as graders emptied baskets these were replaced by freshly filled baskets brought in from the orchards by gatherers. The Spectator was assigned to his post at the bench, a crate under his hands.

"Do you pack the two-two pack, or the one-two pack, or the two-one?" asked his neighbor, sociably.

The Spectator's spirit was already chastened by observation. "The which?" he asked, in confusion and humility. His neighbor's fingers, seemingly with eyes in their tips, were flying like lightning 'twixt troughs and crates, selecting peaches that for size and quality fitted in with other peaches. Each crate is provided with nine small oblong baskets such as we see in fruit-stalls—three in the bottom row, which is packed first, then covered with a partition which squeezes the fruit down, holding it firm; three in the second row, which is likewise squeezed down; three in the top row. When her top row was packed, the Spectator's neighbor cried, "Extra Fancy!" and the crate was turned over to the department which nails up the crates and hurries them along to the fruit-cars. There were three grades of peaches—Plain, Fancy, Extra Fancy.

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A newcomer said to the fruit-grower, who was very busy overlooking things:

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"Don't you pack the poorer peaches at the bottom of the baskets?" "No," he said, quietly; "I do not like the principle. Besides, I am building up a standard for my fruit." The Spectator learned that an expert can pack over a hundred crates a day; at two cents a crate (which is the rate by the crate), that is over two dollars a day. Our fruit-grower paid by the day, and according to quality of work as well as speed. "I would rather have good packing than fast packing," he said. The Spectator was two hours packing his first crate. He fancied his packing was good, but the foreman courteously transferred him to the grading side of the table. He had learned, however, what is meant by the "one-two pack, the two-one pack, and the two-two pack." Suffice it to say for illustration that in the one-two pack you put down one peach, crowd in two, put down one, crowd in two, until the layer lies tight and close. But it will be better for the reader to go to Georgia, California, New Jersey, or some other peach-growing region, and find out for himself if he desires clearer knowledge on the subject. It is worth while to know the "one-two pack, the two-two pack, and the two-one pack," if for no other reason than that it gives you a jingle like "Punch, brother, punch." When noon and lunch-time were near, the foreman said, "We must not stop work until we finish this carload." Everybody was flushed, tired, hungry, but there was enthusiastic assent.

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Under the friendly shade of a big oak-tree a happy crowd sat down to the cheerful consumption of fried chicken, home-cured ham sandwiches, stuffed eggs, cake, and grapes—no peaches, thank you! "We never want to see another peach as long as we live!" cried Winifred and May Belle. Their cheeks wore the bloom of the peach; "fuzz" had irritated delicate white skin, and the girls were the pinker and prettier therefor. The orchard-owner had sent with his compliments a great pitcher of lemonade, with crushed peaches in it, which added very much to its flavor. There was the tinkle of ice in glasses, the ripple of laughter, and, the Spectator shrewdly suspects, some love-making beneath that oak-tree. But, as a proper chaperon, he may not speak positively. Some members were musical, and we had a little banjo-picking and fiddling.

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"The young people of California are turning fruit gathering and packing into social functions," remarked the fruit-grower, a much-traveled man, as he carried the Spectator home in his buggy. The Spectator mentioned scenes he had witnessed from the windows of railway trains while journeying through New England in autumn, when the apples were harvested by young men and maidens who seemed to find work pleasant and certainly made it picturesque. "A disposition to socialize work is developing everywhere," said the fruit-grower. "Its operation is beneficent. It elevates work, dignifies play, and is already having some effect in solving labor problems—as in this region, for instance, where labor is scarce. The only available labor to-day is that of our best young people. I suppose you know there were a number of university students around that packing-table. They need the money, and Mr. Orchard needs their work." The Spectator thought over these sayings. The tendency among cultured people is to impart grace and lightness to toil—to make any work artistic. "If things were evenly divided in this life," he ruminated the night after the peach-packing picnic, as he wearily took up his pen, "professional people—as scribblers, clerks, bootblacks, and millionaires—would at least have occasional opportunity of doing things in orchards and on farms; athletes would have the opportunity of exercising at useful games—like plowing and hoeing; professional pleasure-seekers, of playing at work instead of working at play." "In order that exercise be recreation, is it essential that it have no useful aim?" the Spectator asked himself. He remembers to have read: "The labors of primitive man—hunting and fishing—become the sports of civilized man." Shall tilling the soil and gathering bounties from the breast of Mother Earth be the one exception? Not so, if we love her and are grateful.

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The World-Significance of the Treaty of Portsmouth

By Frederick de Martens

At the recent Russo-Japanese Conference at Portsmouth no one commanded more respect than the legal adviser of the Russian Foreign Office, Frederick de Martens. Long the honored Professor of International Law in the University of St. Petersburg, Dr. de Martens obtained a reputation not only throughout Russia but throughout the world as a foremost authority in his special domain. The Russian Government was fortunate in being able to avail itself of his services, and six years ago he was a powerful force at the Czar's elbow in the call for an international conference to devise measures for the greater assurance of peace throughout the world. Since that time Dr. de Martens has been at The Hague, in a judicial capacity, at arbitration proceedings before the now established International Tribunal there. He was also at Paris during the arbitration between Venezuela and England, when one of his colleagues was Chief Justice Fuller, of the United States Supreme Court. Dr. de Martens knows America as well, having some years ago received the degree of LL.D. from Yale, at a memorable Commencement, when the same degree was also conferred on Marquis Ito and John Hay.—THE EDITORS.

THE Portsmouth Treaty of Peace is a new-born infant, and I will in no wise undertake to draw its horoscope nor to criticise it. Having been present at its birth, I have a weakness for it, and I fear lest my opinion of it may be too indulgent. At the same time, from the view of perfect impartiality I may be allowed to make a few observations relative to the circumstances under which this new-born child came into the world in the sovereign State of New Hampshire, at Portsmouth, the 5th of September last. Such is its birth certificate.

Before the birth of this treaty of peace the entire world was interested in the question, Will it actually come into existence or not?

During this time, which was not at all long, the whole world also admired the generous proposal of the illustrious President of the United States, that representatives from Russia and Japan should meet on the hospitable soil of the great American Republic. It was thought, and with much reason, that Mr. Roosevelt had so advised the two belligerent Powers in order to bring about another triumph of the ideas of mediation and arbitration, which, since the great international Peace Conference of 1899, had gained increasing influence throughout the world. While the Conference was in progress at Portsmouth, President Roosevelt twice made suggestions in order to bring the peace negotiations to a happy conclusion.

On the first occasion he proposed the appointment of a commission of two neutrals to whom should be intrusted the solution of the very thorny question as to the war indemnity which Japan energetically demanded from Russia. This proposition was not adopted by the Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries, but it was evidently founded on the Hague agreement of 1899 relating to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

On the second occasion the initiative of Mr. Roosevelt was more fortunate, when, in his quality of originator of the Portsmouth Conference, he thought that he had the right to address himself directly to the sovereigns of Russia and Japan and to urge them in pressing and earnest language to make mutual concessions in order to bring about the peace so ardently desired by all the nations of the civilized world. This time the initiative of the President of the United States of America was crowned with success; an understanding between the representatives of the two nations at war was brought about by the abandonment on the part of the Japanese plenipotentiaries of their demand for a war indemnity.

These historic facts prove in an irref-

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utable manner the near kinship between the great Hague Peace Conference in 1899 and the Peace Conference at Portsmouth. They also put an end to the disastrous war between two nations which should henceforward live in sincere friendship and as good neighbors. It seems to me that these bonds of kinship between the two Conferences are indissoluble; they are created in the very nature of things. The Conference of Peace at the Hague is the mother; that at Portsmouth is her legitimate daughter, faithful and grateful.

It is rather curious to note another fact worthy of our attention. In 1898 the Emperor of Russia took the initiative in convening at The Hague twenty-five nations of the world—European, American, and Asiatic, having official representatives at St. Petersburg—for an international conference. This had for its purpose the finding of means to prevent international disputes from growing into unhappy and disastrous wars. Yet five years later a most unhappy war broke out between Russia herself and Japan—that is to say, between two nations which had taken a very active part in the Hague Peace Conference! But these two hostile nations found nothing in the Hague treaty regarding international arbitration as a basis for the peaceful settlement of their dispute.

Nevertheless, we may ask the following question: Was arbitration absolutely inapplicable to this dispute in 1902 or 1903—that is to say, in the period of its existence which was not critical? I take the liberty of believing that arbitration would have been perfectly possible if only the Court of Arbitration had been called upon to decide, not political questions, but the points of law brought into question by this conflict. Unfortunately, however, when the propitious moment had passed it was impossible to create it anew. Well-known events then imposed upon Russia a war not desired and not sufficiently foreseen. Yet it was on the basis of the Hague Convention that Mr. Roosevelt made his appeal in June of this year to the Emperors of Russia and Japan, recalling to them the imperative necessity of putting an end to the gigantic struggle which for sixteen months had desolated two great nations and from which all the civilized world suffered.

In view of these circumstances, I take the liberty of asking the following question: Are not the Governments which signed the arbitration agreement at The Hague morally bound, in case of any conflict whatever of an international character, to ask themselves sincerely whether arbitration is absolutely impossible and inapplicable? Are not they bound at least to make an attempt scrupulously to examine this question? I am profoundly convinced that this obligation does exist for all the Governments which regard war as the greatest curse of humanity, yet as the *ultima ratio* of international politics. Moreover, I am under no delusion as to the actual condition of international relations, and I perfectly understand the Imperial orator at Berlin when he says that the best arbitration means battalions and cannon. At the same time, it is incontestable that if we wish to regulate all disputes between the nations by battalions and cannon, we shall in the end fail of our object. No one should forget that the blood poured out by the battalions is the blood of the citizens and sons of the country, in whose behalf we cannot refuse to inquire for what holy and just cause we impose upon them the task of sacrificing their lives and of shedding their blood.

It is incontestable that at the present time an international war is in no way a war waged by mercenary troops. An international war ought to be, in fact, a rational struggle, in which the causes and objects are understood by the enlightened consciences of the warring nations. It is, then, for such reasons that it seems to me to be a crime to wish to settle all the disputes between nations by battalions and by pouring out torrents of blood.

But this was never the thought of the great Imperial orator at Berlin. Up to the present time the Emperor William has been, in point of fact, the most convinced and powerful protector of the world's peace. Yet conclusions have been drawn from his words which he himself would never have drawn therefrom. Now, if war has preserved its

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savage and barbarous character, if it is the greatest calamity for the nations, it is incontestable that all the Governments have the sacred duty—namely, to prevent by all the means in their power the breaking off of peaceful relations and the beginning of war. From this point of view I could wish that in every international conflict, without any exception, the Governments concerned would put to their consciences this question: Is it possible, in this actual case before us, to have recourse to arbitration? Can we intrust to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague the mission of settling this conflict by its definite and impartial decree? It will be truly an immense advance along the road of humanity and of civilization if this simple question can only be propounded and conscientiously examined by the Governments concerned in an international dispute. That will be the best proof that the Governments of the civilized world have a true perception of their sacred and unchangeable duty towards their subjects.

Nevertheless, I am far from thinking that every dispute is really capable of being settled by the permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, or by any other kind of arbitration. No, unhappily, there are collisions of interests, ambitions, and prejudices between nations which no court of arbitration can adjust by its sentence. There are international disputes which break out like a storm in the political sky of the world, and whose effects are sometimes almost beneficial for the political atmosphere in which the nations live. There are international wars which no human power can divert in their disastrous and terrible course. To such wars the nations do not always submit *summa cum laude*. At the same time, even in such exceptional cases, I am convinced that civilized States are morally bound to do everything humanly possible to prevent the commencement of hostilities. Never has any Government which has entered into a war with another been able to foresee what dimensions it will take in the future. Never should any Government take upon itself with light heart the responsibility for not having prevented this supreme disaster. One of the most practical means, and one within the reach of all, is certainly recourse to international arbitration. But in order to profit by this it is absolutely necessary that the Governments should have a perception of their moral and logical duty, should reflect upon it seriously, and should seek in every possibility recourse to arbitration.

Under these conditions modern States should, at the beginning of international disputes, seriously and conscientiously examine the political causes which underlie the seemingly logical reasons for the disputes that have broken out. If that examination proves the existence of principles of law in dispute, if judicial questions can be put before impartial judges, arbitration naturally becomes the course to be pursued; there remains the fulfillment of a sacred duty.

If, on the contrary, this examination proves that no judge in the world could decide the dispute by judicial and impartial examination of the causes of the dispute, if these causes have an absolutely factitious and political character—in such a case arbitration is inapplicable. Never can international arbitration stop the savage sway of political passions; never can common sense and reason arrest the torrent of calamities provoked by the so-called national and historical aspirations of peoples. Before these inexorable facts reason bows down and the judicial conscience is silent. Nevertheless, these facts in no wise contradict my contention that in every international conflict Governments have a sacred duty to put before themselves the question whether arbitration is possible or not.

From this point of view the Treaty of Portsmouth should have for the future the significance of a formidable "Memento." It will serve for all time as irrefutable proof of the absolute necessity for Governments to forestall by all possible means a war of which the necessity is not at all enforced either by the nature of the international relations between the belligerent nations or as an unavoidable and inevitable fatality.

Finally, the Peace Treaty at Portsmouth will remain for the future a living and constant witness of the absolute necessity of not conducting diplomatic

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negotiations and of not concluding international treaties by means of permanent surprises. At Portsmouth the representatives of the two belligerent Powers advanced from one surprise to another. The Russian representatives reached Portsmouth without having the least idea of the conditions which Japan wished to impose upon Russia. During the voyage to America of the Russian delegates the military operations continued and the island of Saghalien was occupied by the Japanese troops. The night before the treaty was signed Russian and Japanese forces fought bravely in Manchuria. It was almost impossible, under these conditions so anomalous, to carry on diplomatic negotiations. Neither the negotiations which precede a treaty, nor the treaty itself, should call to mind a "jack-in-the-box."

The Portsmouth Treaty of Peace is, thanks to God, accomplished, and peace is re-established in the Far East. Let us rejoice at this great benefit to mankind, and let us leave to the Russian and Japanese Governments the conscientious execution of the provisions of this very complicated and most interesting international treaty.

Cuban Affairs, Internal and External

By Gonzalo de Quesada

Cuban Minister at Washington

CUBA is to-day one of the nations of this continent whose affairs are of greatest interest to the people of the United States. Hence, a fair statement of Cuban conditions will be, I am sure, welcomed by the American public.

Cuba has been now forty-one months under self-government. It is time for the world to ask whether her administration has been wise, and whether her people have shown capacity for republican institutions. Both questions can be answered in the most positive affirmative.

Cuba's material prosperity has been wonderful. Her commerce and production have increased since 1902 in gigantic strides, her sugar harvest—the principal source of her wealth—passing the million-ton mark, which, together with better prices, has brought abundant money to the island. This, added to the value of tobacco, fruit, and other crops, mines, and manufactures, has increased her commerce to over $101,000,000 of exportations and $93,000,000 of importations, which, for a population of 1,600,000, can well be said to prove fertility of soil, thrift of the people, and a peaceful and successful government. Without the last named the other two could not be of any practical result. Absolute peace and the guarantee of life and property have characterized the administration of President Palma, and the thousands of Americans who have visited the island and made investments to the value of more than a hundred millions in three years are the best witnesses to these assertions. The sanitary conditions of Havana and the rest of the island are such that very few places in the world are as healthy. Yellow fever and other contagious diseases have totally disappeared.

A study of the financial situation of the island is interesting. The receipts for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905, were nearly $62,000,000, of which almost $26,000,000 were from public revenues, and nearly $36,000,000 from special accounts, over $31,000,000 being the product of the loan for the payment of the Cuban army. There remains a surplus of over $4,000,000 on the said special accounts.

The custom-house receipts yielded over $23,000,000, or nearly $5,000,000 more than the previous year, this being due, to a great extent, to the increased commerce. The total taxes received for the year were over $29,000,000, or nearly $7,000,000 more than the previous year. The special taxes devoted to the payment of interest and sinking fund amounted to about $3,500,000, or twice as much as was needed to meet this disbursement, which,

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added to the balance on July 1, 1904, gave a special total of nearly $5,000,000. During the year payments were made to the amount of over $44,000,000, of which more than $17,000,000 were for the regular budget and more than $23,000,000 for paying the army claims. The balance of the previous year added to the total receipts for the past fiscal year gives a grand total of nearly $69,000,000, and, if the payments be deducted, a balance remains of over $24,000,000—the amount in the Cuban treasury on the 1st of July last, which, after suffering some deductions for outstanding credits, left about $23,000,000 surplus.

From this surplus, except six millions, Cuba will pay the remaining fifty per cent. due the soldiers, giving for the balance bonds carrying five per cent. annual interest, the interest and sinking fund of which will be provided by Congress from surpluses every year. Such a solution finishes this question of the soldiers' claims, which commenced to be settled with the $35,000,000 loan made in this country at 90½. Those bonds are quoted to-day at 105½, thus showing the confidence of financiers in Cuba's future. This solution is entirely within the means of our treasury, and by it the Government redeems certificates which to-day constitute, as much as the bonds in their stead, an interior debt; partly reduces this debt to almost one-third, and the money goes to the soldiers instead of speculators, who afterward and otherwise would make them good as against the Government; and, finally, the money remains in Cuba. No loan is made, and in no way is the Cuban Constitution or the Platt Amendment infringed upon. It is of interest to repeat here that Cuba recently bought in from the surplus $1,000,000 of the $35,000,000 loan, thus saving $50,000 annual interest, and that the internal taxes devoted to the loan have so far exceeded the calculated revenue from it that our interest is always on hand months before it is due. Such a condition of affairs can exist only under an economical and progressive government.

But lately some attacks have been made upon President Tomas Estrada Palma and his administration. It is natural; Cuba is in election times, and the opponents of the Cuban Administration must find some ammunition for their campaign. For the last six months an active political canvass has been made in the island, all the more energetic because it is the first general election of Cuba; national, provincial, and municipal offices are to be filled, and it is not strange that arguments wax thick and strong, and blows and some riots and a little bloodshed occur. It is the result of free institutions, no matter where implanted; in Cuba the adversaries of the Palma Administration have newspapers in which they attack and cartoon the President, as is done only in nations where there is absolute freedom; public speech has been respected everywhere, and parades and torchlight processions have shown that the Cubans have learned their lesson well from party agitation in this country. It can be said that in Cuba liberty is not a name, but as much of a reality as in this country. If there were no liberty, we should have but one opinion of current events.

An examination of the two principal political parties now existing in Cuba will be in order, so that the unbiased American reader may judge for himself. It can be said that there are no essential differences between the two parties, unless it be that the Moderates desire to maintain the same close and friendly relations which have heretofore existed with the United States, and the other—the Liberal-Fusionists—show a certain anti-American sentiment.

The Liberal-Fusionists, after General Nuñez decided to help the Moderates in the province of Havana, had a chance of winning only in the province of Santa Clara, where General José Miguel Gomez was Governor, and, with the patronage he had so far disposed of, controlled the majority. But when he lost the national patronage, which, naturally, the party in power whom he was opposing took from him, and when he made his declarations as to disobeying any decision of the Supreme Court of the island, he lost even this stronghold. The property-owners and the people desirous of order and peace flocked to the standard of the Moderates.

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It was then that some of General Gomez's friends commenced their campaign of incendiary speeches and threats of carrying the elections by force and the use of arms and dynamite. The outcome of some Liberals' determination to win at any cost was the burning of the town hall at Vueltas and the clash at Cienfuegos, where the Chief of Police was assassinated and Señor Enrique Villuendas, a Congressman, found an untimely death. An examination of the premises was being made, which resulted in the Government finding many dynamite bombs.

The Government could not be intimidated or bulldozed by a few men who were resorting to such unlawful means. It took steps to see, first, that the elections were held in strict legality, and, secondly, that life and property and individual liberty were protected. The Government is bound not only by the Constitution, but also by the Platt Amendment, to show that it is able to deal with any local disturbance (for such have been the ones in Cuba), and that it can and will prevent any disorders which may cause American intervention. The Liberals have not been overawed; they have been made to submit to the law, and only in cases where similar action would be taken in this country have arrests been made, and then only when the peace of the young republic was in danger of being disturbed.

The people responded to the platform of law and order, and on the 23d of September the primary elections were held, with nothing noteworthy to mar the commendable example Cuba was giving of exercising universal suffrage. The Moderates and President Palma's Administration were overwhelmingly indorsed.

Up to that time the wails and accusations of the Liberals had scarcely reached the United States; but some members of the defeated party, perhaps the unconscious tools of the enemies of Cuba's independence, resolved to make a newspaper campaign in this country, and suggested the intervention of the United States. They discredited their own country and people. Nothing more eloquent could be said to an American than this last statement to prove how misguided they were. It is now asserted that the party will reorganize and will struggle gamely to the end—a consummation devoutly to be wished by those who know that only by the exercise of suffrage, however bitter may be the accusations of the respective parties and crushing the defeat, will liberty take root and flourish in any country.

There remains only one question in relation to Cuba which is now being given prominence in the press of this country—the pending Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with England. It has been commented on often without the text at hand, and more often without any knowledge of other treaties or international law. Article I. of the Platt Amendment says that the Government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any way authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for naval or military purposes, or otherwise, lodgment or control over any portion of said island. The treaty with England cannot be twisted in any way so that it will fall under that provision. Its text is almost identical with similar treaties made by this country and with the one made by Cuba with Italy some months ago, which was not found to be objectionable.

The real opposition to it comes from the shipping interests in this country, which fear that the "most favored nation" clause will make it possible for England to claim the same privileges for her merchant marine enjoyed by the American vessels, in case special favors were granted to American bottoms. This desire of the American shipping interests is not new; when the Reciprocity Treaty was ratified, an effort was made to have the benefits of the reduction accrue only to merchandise and products carried in either American or Cuban ships, a condition which would have favored only the United States, and which, because of the elimination of foreign competition, would have banished from Cuban ports other flags and made freight charges higher from Cuba. Of course this would be true if, as it is stated, this privi-

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lege was made in the form of a "gratuity," for if it were granted by Cuba for some substantial advantage the "most favored nation clause" could not be invoked by Italy or England or any other nation, any more than the reductions made by the Reciprocity Treaty have been enjoyed by countries having treaties with the United States with the said clause. The Secretary of State of Cuba, Dr. O'Farrill, has well said that this treaty is nowise inimical to the interests of this country, that it only grants to England what she and other countries already enjoy, and that in no way does it prevent future arrangements as to reciprocity and commerce with the United States.

Aside from other considerations, there is in Cuba such deep-felt gratitude towards America that nobody would for an instant conceive of any measure which could be detrimental to the Union. Indeed, the ties of friendship between the two countries are becoming every day stronger because of the respect of Americans for our efforts in following their footsteps, and the admiration of the Cubans for the Great Republic where friend and opponent are sure of obtaining fair play.

The Japanese in Korea[1]

By George Kennan

Special Correspondent for The Outlook in the Far East

WHEN one reviews, fairly and dispassionately, the methods and achievements of the Japanese in Korea, since they acquired paramount influence there in February, 1904, one can hardly help feeling a little disappointment. Their aims and intentions have been good, and they have made some progress in the right direction; but they have not displayed in that field anything like the intelligent prevision, the conspicuous ability, and the remarkable capacity for prearrangement that they have shown in the arena of war. It was hardly fair, perhaps, to expect Japan to do her very best in two different fields at the same time; but her military administration has been so skillful and successful that one is more than half inclined to look for skill and success everywhere; and when one finds that her management in Korea is not up to the level of her management in Manchuria, one is a little surprised and disappointed. It is my purpose in this article to review briefly a year and a half of Japanese administration in Korea, to point out some of the mistakes that I think the Japanese authorities have made there, and to show, on the other hand, how much they have accomplished, and how serious have been their embarrassments and difficulties. I shall do this without the least dogmatism, and without any assumption of infallibility. In a country like Korea one is very likely to make errors of judgment, on account of the extreme difficulty of getting accurate and trustworthy information. The foreign residents of the country hold various opinions concerning the situation; Japanese officials on the ground are very reticent with regard to their motives and purposes; and the Koreans, generally, embroider the truth to such an extent that one can only guess at the nature and appearance of the underlying fabric. I have sought the best sources of information, and I think that in some cases I have got down to the bed-rock of fact; but I am not absolutely sure of anything in Korea that I have not seen.

The first mistake, perhaps, that the Japanese Government made in its dealings with Korea was in attempting to reconcile Korean independence with effective Japanese control. The Japan-Korean convention of 1904 definitely "*guaranteed the independence* of the Korean Empire" and the "safety and repose" of the Imperial Korean House; but at the same time it stipulated that

[1] For two former articles, "Korea, a Degenerate State" and "The Korean People," see The Outlook for October 7 and October 21.—THE EDITORS.

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the Korean Government should "*adopt the advice* of the Japanese Government *with regard to improvement in administration*." The effect of this treaty was to create a sort of dual government, of Korean officials and Japanese advisers, with divided powers and responsibilities. If the two sets of rulers had been equal in mental equipment and experience, and if their aims and purposes had been the same, they might, perhaps, have worked harmoniously and effectively together; but when they had absolutely nothing in common except a mutual feeling of dislike and distrust, there was no possibility of successful co-operation. The Japanese advisers urged reforms, while the Korean officials resorted to obstruction; and then each side tried to throw on the other the responsibility for failures and mistakes. The whole scheme was practically unworkable, from the beginning; and it would have been much better, I think, if, instead of trying to keep up the pretense of Korean independence, Japan had frankly assumed temporary control of Korean administration for the purpose of bringing about necessary reforms. The taking over of the Korean postal service and the regulation of Korean finances by the Japanese authorities were acts of sovereignty which distinctly limited Korean freedom, and it was hardly worth while to adopt the unsatisfactory method of governing by advice, merely for the sake of maintaining the fiction of Korean independence.[1] As a matter of fact, Korea is not independent, in any proper sense of the word, and the system of advisory control to which Japan has resorted multiplies the difficulties of administration, complicates the question of responsibility, and serves no useful purpose whatever. I shall try to show hereafter how the system works in practice, and I wish now only to point out the fact that many of the difficulties with which Japan is struggling in Korea had their origin in the convention of 1904. The Japanese Government may have thought it necessary, or expedient, at that time, to treat Korea as a sovereign and independent State which needed only benevolent advice; but it would have saved itself much trouble and embarrassment if it had openly assumed control of Korean administration, had made its advisers directors, and had guaranteed only the ultimate independence of a reformed and regenerated Empire. Minister Hayashi evidently recognized this fact when he said to a "Times" correspondent, in June, 1904: "To be successful we must have control, and this is obtainable only when there is the weight of the dominant Power back of the advice given. The lack of this power would render the services of any foreign adviser useless."[1] And yet Japan still continues to treat the Korean Government as if it had real sovereignty and independence, and as if it were really responsible for the management of Korean affairs.

The second mistake that the Japanese made in Korea was the result, it seems to me, of bad judgment with regard to the measures and reforms that were most urgently needed. They were acquainted, or ought to have been acquainted, with the cruelty and corruption of Korean administration, and they were aware, or ought to have been aware, that the most urgent need of the country was justice. The people everywhere were being oppressed, robbed, and impoverished by dishonest Korean officials, and they wanted, first of all, adequate protection for their personal and property rights. The reorganization of the postal system and the regulation of the finances were things that might wait—at least for a few months—but administrative reform and the enforcement of justice were matters of immediate and vital necessity, for the reason that there could be no tranquillity or prosperity without them. Instead, however, of weeding out corrupt ministers, punishing official robbers, and making a vigorous effort to improve Korean administration, the Japanese turned their attention first to the development of the material resources of the country, and brought forward in June, 1904, a scheme for the reclamation and utilization of unoccupied and unculti-

[1] The Japanese, it is true, assumed control of the Korean postal system by virtue of a special agreement; but this does not materially affect the argument, because if Japan could compel Korea to sign an agreement which limited her sovereignty in one field, she might have compelled her to make a similar assignment of her sovereign rights in another field.

[1] London "Times," June 17, 1904.

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vated land. This scheme proposed to give to a Japanese subject named Nagamori a fifty-year right to reclaim waste and fallow lands in all parts of the Empire, and to cultivate and use them for his own exclusive benefit. He was to pay nothing for the concession, and during a period of five years was to be exempt even from ordinary taxation. The land to be turned over to him was thought to comprise at least one-fifth, and possibly one-third, of the Empire.

Without going into a discussion of the merits of this scheme, it must be apparent, I think, that its introduction almost at the beginning of Japanese ascendency in Korea was a great mistake in policy, for at least two reasons. In the first place, land titles and records throughout the peninsula were in such a confused and chaotic state that a scheme of this kind would inevitably give rise to endless disputes with regard to ownership, boundaries, and irrigating water-rights, and for the equitable adjudication and settlement of such disputes there was no legal machinery whatever. In the second place, the turning over of a vast area of Korean land to a Japanese subject, or syndicate, would almost certainly strike the Korean people as an attempt by a foreign Power to deprive them of their property without compensation; and its natural effect would be to strengthen the feeling of hostility to the Japanese which was already in existence, and make the government of the country by means of benevolent advice increasingly difficult.

If, when we got control of the Philippines, we had given Mr. Harriman or Mr. Rockefeller a fifty-year right to reclaim and utilize all the unoccupied and uncultivated land in the archipelago, and had not only made this concession as a free gift, but had exempted the beneficiary from all taxation for a period of five years, the Filipinos certainly wonld have concluded that their new rulers intended to adopt a policy of wholesale exploitation and confiscation. The Japanese Government, I have no doubt, sincerely hoped and intended to promote the welfare of the Koreans by introducing Japanese capital and making productive a large area of land which would otherwise lie unoccupied and unused; but its method of accomplishing this result was open to very serious objections, on political as well as on economic grounds. What the Korean people wanted and needed most was not an opportunity to make more money by cultivating more land, but a guarantee that they should enjoy in peace and security the money they were making already. The Nagamori scheme led them to believe that in the future they were not only to be robbed by their own officials, but exploited by the Japanese, and they immediately united in a storm of protest. Surprised and disconcerted, apparently, by the popular excitement and indignation which the Nagamori proposition aroused, the Japanese Government finally ceased to urge it, and it was eventually dropped. The only bad effect, therefore, which it had was a noticeable increase in the suspicion with which the Koreans regarded Japanese advice. Looking at the matter dispassionately, and in the light of such information as I have been able to get, it seems to me that the Japanese made a grave error of judgment in beginning their rule in Korea with an attempt to develop the material resources of the country instead of an attempt to reform and purify its civil administration. If they had begun by protecting the Korean people from extortion and robbery, and by everywhere enforcing justice to the full extent of their ability, they would have shown a much more enlightened appreciation of the nature of the problem with which they were dealing. Having the people on their side, they might have done almost anything that they chose with the bureaucracy; and after they had won popular confidence by reforming the administration, they might have put through even the Nagamori land scheme.

I am not an admirer of the Korean people—they seem to me little better than their rulers. But inasmuch as the country could not be made peaceful and prosperous without their co-operation, it would have been much better to conciliate them and win their confidence by giving them the justice to which they were entitled, than to alienate them by bringing forward a scheme which they

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would naturally regard as an attempt to deprive them of a large part of their territory. It may be objected that Korea was an independent State, and that Japan could not regulate her domestic affairs without limiting her sovereignty. This objection, however, seems to me to have no weight. It was precisely for "improvement in administration" that the treaty of 1904 made provision; and at a meeting of prominent members of Parliament in the house of the Prime Minister, on the 15th of November, 1904, Baron Komura expressly stated that "even the domestic affairs of Korea might require management." If Japan, moreover, had power to take control of the Korean postal service and regulate Korean finances, she certainly had power to improve Korean administration by taking cognizance of acts of official robbery, and by insisting on the punishment of the robbers. Minister Hayashi virtually admitted this when he said, in June, 1904, "Officials must be paid a living wage, and extortion must be stopped; for when complaints are entertained and acted upon, such practices will cease."[1] But Mr. Hayashi went even further than this. In January, 1905, he officially notified the Korean people that the administrative wrongs of which they complained should be redressed, and promised that if they would bring their complaints to the Japanese consuls they should be investigated.[2] This, unquestionably, was a step in the right direction; but, in the first place, it had been too long deferred, and, in the second place, it was ineffective, for the reason that the consulates had neither the clerical force nor the power to deal with the hundreds of cases that needed investigation. The existing legal machinery was wholly inadequate. If the Japanese had shown in Korea the same forethought and capacity for prearrangement that they exhibited in Manchuria, they would have anticipated this difficulty and would have made preparations to meet it. Suppose, for example, that they had begun the work of administrative reform by insisting upon the appointment of a capable and absolutely incorruptible Korean statesman—a man like Yun-Chi-Ho—as Minister of Home Affairs, and had then supported all his measures with the whole "weight of the dominant Power." Suppose, furthermore, that they had brought over from Japan a hundred intelligent samurai policemen and twelve or fifteen police inspectors, and had stationed them here and there throughout the country, with instructions to listen to complaints, investigate, as far as possible, cases of official robbery, and report at short intervals to the Home Minister, so as to give the latter an idea of the real state of the country and the real needs of the Korean people. This would have been a makeshift scheme, and would, perhaps, have worked very imperfectly; but I venture to think that if it had been adopted in the beginning, and if an honest Home Minister, with such sources of information, had been vigorously and resolutely supported by the "dominant Power," there would have been a very considerable improvement in Korean administration, and a very desirable change for the better in the feeling and attitude of the Korean people toward the Japanese. Instead, however, of devising some such plan as this, and putting it into execution, the Japanese authorities allowed things to slide along in the old grooves of corruption, and, by bringing forward the Nagamori land scheme instead of a scheme of administrative reform, led the people to think that they were not to be protected, but were to be exploited.

Even in the matter of organizing an honest Ministry the policy of the Japanese, in my judgment, was irresolute and weak. If they made any serious effort to get the best men in office and keep them there, the fact did not come to my knowledge; and certain it is that they allowed the notorious chair-coolie, Yi-Yong-Ik, to become Minister of War, although they knew, or ought to have known, that he was a liar, a robber, and an extortioner of the worst possible kind. When, after my departure from Seoul, he was finally removed from office, the Japanese found nine hundred thousand Korean dollars stored in a godown attached to his house, and when, a few

[1] London "Times," June 17, 1904.
[2] "Jiji Shimpo," January 5, 1905.

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weeks later, he turned up in Shanghai, the Chinese customs officials took from his person one hundred and fifty thousand yen more, which belonged, presumably, to the Korean treasury. The Korean people were well aware that Yi-Yong-Ik was a robber and an extortioner, and that several of his associates in the Cabinet were little better, and when they found that the Japanese authorities had, apparently, no objection to the appointment of such men to the highest positions in the State, they drew conclusions that were not at all favorable to Japanese rule.[1]

Having disappointed expectation by failing to reform the Korean civil service, and having irritated the people by proposing to turn over a large part of the Empire to a foreign syndicate, the Japanese authorities made a third mistake in allowing their own countrymen to swarm into Korea by tens of thousands before they had provided any legal machinery for the adjudication and settlement of disputes between the immigrants and the natives. In Japan, as in every other country, there are good men and bad men, men who are fair and honest and men who are reckless and unscrupulous. When a new and undeveloped country is suddenly thrown open to business enterprise, it is likely to be invaded first by speculators, exploiters, and adventurers, who expect to fish in troubled waters, and who think that they can make big profits by taking early advantage of native ignorance and inexperience. Such has been the case in some of our own colonial dependencies, and such was the case in Korea. The Japanese who went there first were largely men who wanted to get rich quickly, and who had no scruples with regard to methods. Considerations of Imperial welfare and policy were nothing to them, and any action seemed to them permissible if it did not threaten to land them in jail. Many of them regarded the rights of the Koreans as some of us regard the rights of the Indians, and when the two nationalities came into conflict the Koreans invariably went to the wall. The immigrants not only cheated the natives when they had opportunity, but, relying upon the absence of legal control, often ill treated them personally and deprived them of their property by force. The Japanese authorities, of course, disapproved of this, and did what they could to prevent it; but fifty or sixty thousand immigrants scattered over a country more than twice as big as Indiana, and almost as destitute of means of intercommunication as Alaska, are not to be controlled by half a dozen consuls; and as the victims of the ill treatment had no protection from their own officials and no redress in their own courts, they were practically defenseless.

The Koreans are mostly exaggerators or barefaced liars, by heredity and by training, and it is therefore impossible to accept, without careful verification, the statements which they make with regard to Japanese misbehavior; but I am satisfied, from cases that I have investigated, and from the testimony of the Japanese themselves, that the natives have good ground for complaint. To illustrate by a few examples:

(1) A Japanese coolie goes to the stand of a Korean fruit-seller, eats half a yen worth of peaches or grapes, throws down five or ten sen, and walks away. The Korean dealer follows him and insists upon having the market value of the fruit consumed. The demand leads to an altercation, and at the end of it the Japanese kicks or cuffs the Korean and goes on his way, leaving the latter defrauded and insulted.

(2) Half a dozen Japanese prospectors in the country find a piece of unowned and unoccupied land which needs only irrigation to make it valuable. They discover that they can irrigate it by changing the course of a small stream which waters the rice-field of a Korean farmer lower down, and they proceed at once to dig the necessary ditches. When the owner of the rice-field protests, they browbeat and intimidate him, and tell him that if he has a valid claim to that water privilege, he can go to the Japanese consul and prove it.

[1] On the 27th of November, 1902, fourteen of the highest officials of the Empire asked the Emperor to have Yi-Yong-Ik executed, and the latter was forced to take refuge in the Russian Legation. He subsequently regained power, and was made Minister of Finance and Director of the Mint. In the early part of 1905, when he was made Governor of North Kyungsang, thousands of people assembled in mass-meeting at Taiku to protest against his appointment on account of their fear of his methods. It was after this that the Japanese allowed him to become Minister of War.

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(3) The Korean Government, through one of its Cabinet officers, secretly sells to a Japanese syndicate the right to share equally with the Koreans in the fishing privileges on a certain stretch of coast. The syndicate immediately assumes that this concession grants an *exclusive* right, and its employees proceed to drive away the Korean fishermen and confiscate the fish which the latter have already caught. In June, 1905, a quarrel over a transaction of this kind occurred near Masampho, and in the fight that ensued fourteen men are said to have been killed.

(4) A Korean from the country goes to a Japanese broker in Seoul and exchanges four hundred yen for Korean nickels. As the money, in the shape of nickels, is bulky, and as the Korean has no immediate use for it, he leaves it with the broker on deposit and takes a receipt. When, some time later, he calls for it, the broker assumes an air of surprise and declares that he—the depositor—has already withdrawn it. The Korean produces the receipt, as evidence of the debt, and insists that if the broker had paid the money he would have taken up the voucher. The broker merely reiterates the statement that he has returned the deposit, and explains that his failure to take up the receipt was due to inadvertence. The Korean goes to the Japanese consulate with his complaint and is turned back at the door. He then gets an American missionary to accompany him, and finally succeeds in gaining admittance. The Japanese vice-consul, not knowing that the missionary understands the Korean language, begins to abuse the unfortunate depositor for dragging a foreigner into the case, whereupon the American explains, mildly, that he has accompanied the Korean merely because the latter has failed to get admission alone. The vice-consul says that he will investigate the case, but he fails to do so and the Korean loses his money.

(5) A Korean leases his house to a Japanese for one year, and at the expiration of that period sells it to another person. The tenant in possession refuses to move out, and defies the owner to eject him. The Japanese consul fails to take action upon the complaint of the Korean, and the latter is virtually deprived of his property without any process of law.

(6) A Japanese railroad contractor makes a deal with a Korean official for the services of one hundred Korean coolies, who are to be paid at the rate of a yen and a half each per day. Instead of giving the money to the laborers who have earned it, the contractor hands it over to the official, who steals two-thirds of it and gives the coolies only one-third. When the latter refuse to work any longer for fifty sen a day, the official and the contractor together resort to force.

The above are only samples of hundreds of cases in which the conflicting rights or interests of Koreans and Japanese fail of settlement for lack of adequate judicial machinery. The Japanese immigrants are not subject to the jurisdiction of Korean courts, and the Koreans cannot get justice in the Japanese consular courts, for the reason, principally, that the latter are swamped with business. In all Korea I have no doubt that there are a thousand disputes or quarrels between Koreans and Japanese every month; and it is utterly impossible for half a dozen consuls to investigate such a number of cases, or even to listen to the complaints of the injured parties. The result is universal miscarriage of justice and a steadily growing anti-Japanese feeling throughout the peninsula.

All this trouble might have been avoided if the Japanese Government had kept its people at home until it had solved some of the problems of Korean administration, and had provided some means of settling the disputes which were likely to arise between a horde of more or less unscrupulous immigrants and a hostile native population. The enforcement of justice in Korea was difficult enough even when the oppressors and the oppressed were of the same nationality, and it was in the highest degree impolitic and injudicious to add another and an alien element of disorder to a situation which was already chaotic. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the Japanese Government did not even strengthen the clerical force of its Korean

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consulates with a view to meeting the enormously increased volume of business which was sure to come when fifty or sixty thousand Japanese immigrants, many of them of bad character, poured into a country where consular restraint was the only means of control. The failure of the Japanese authorities to anticipate and provide for this state of affairs would not be so surprising if they had not already had a similar experience in Formosa. There, too, the first Japanese immigrants were largely unscrupulous adventurers and men of bad character, and there, too, trouble ensued on account of the inadequacy of the means that existed for enforcing justice and maintaining control. In Formosa, however, the situation did not become so threatening, for the reason that the Japanese Government had full power, and was not hampered by the obstructive tactics of a corrupt and nominally independent native administration.

But it is not of the Japanese immigrants alone that the Koreans complain. They assert, and undoubtedly believe, that they are often treated unfairly by the Japanese authorities. Take, for example, the disputes and grievances growing out of the expropriation of land and the employment of Korean coolies by Japanese railway companies. These corporations, or their employees, have frequently made payments for land and labor, not to the landowners and laborers, but to the Korean Government or its officials, and have trusted the latter to distribute the money equitably among the persons entitled to it. In many, if not in most, cases such distribution has not been properly or honestly made, and many Koreans consequently have been left without reimbursement for land taken and without the stipulated wages for labor performed. They naturally throw the blame for this state of affairs upon the Japanese authorities, who, they think, should either have supervised the action of the Korean officials or have compelled the railway companies to make direct payment to the coolies whom they hired and the farmers whose land they seized. Laying aside the question of equity, there can be no doubt, I think, that, as a mere matter of policy, the Japanese authorities should have made sure in every case that the Koreans actually received the money which the corporations paid. They were well aware of the incapacity and corruption of the Korean administration, and they made, to say the least, a serious mistake in judgment when they allowed Korean officials to act as middlemen between Japanese corporations on one side and the Korean people on the other. Such a course was sure to lead to dissatisfaction and trouble.

Take, for an example of another kind, the staking out by the Japanese military authorities of a large area of occupied and cultivated land in the suburbs of Seoul. The Koreans believe that the Japanese, in the exercise of the right of eminent domain, intend to seize all this land and evict the owners, without giving the latter adequate compensation for their houses and farms; and they protest against such injustice. I am assured, by an official who ought to be well informed, that the stakes and flags, which I myself saw, and which seemed to me to cover several square miles of inhabited and cultivated territory, were not intended to mark out the boundaries of a contemplated land-seizure, but were put up by Japanese military engineers in the working out of a strategic plan of defense. I hope and trust that such may be the case; but even if this statement be accepted, it is extremely impolitic on the part of the Japanese to allow a storm of alarm, indignation, and protest to be raised over a matter which might be settled by a few words of explanation. The anti-Japanese agitation in Korea is already threatening and serious—why increase the trouble by permitting the Korean people to think that the suburban residents of Seoul are virtually to be robbed of territory which certainly covers three or four square miles and is said to contain more than eleven hundred houses? If, on the other hand, the military authorities really intend to take possession of the land covered by the flags and stakes which I saw—if they propose to evict hundreds of families from their houses and farms and leave them to get compensation from their own Government of extortioners and robbers

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—such action will be not only recklessly imprudent, but in the highest degree unjust. The matter is still unsettled and continues to be a subject of controversy; but I sincerely hope that if the Japanese authorities do seize this land, by virtue of a treaty or agreement with the Korean Government, they will at least see that the houses, lands, and crops are appraised at their full market value, and that the Korean Government pays for them honestly and promptly.

Some Japanese publicists are of opinion that it will be necessary to declare a protectorate over Korea, and to take charge of all her foreign relations, in order to prevent the intrigues which might be set on foot by a Minister like Pavlof, if a Russian Legation were again established in Seoul. It seems to me, however, that if the Japanese Government would give the Korean people justice, protect their rights, and thus win their confidence, they might safely permit the establishment of a Russian political agency in every town. The hostility which is most to be feared in Korea is that likely to grow out of Japanese action—or inaction—and not that which might be fostered by an unscrupulous Russian Minister. The Korean people are ignorant, untrustworthy, degenerate—call them what you like—but a nation seldom falls so low that its component members are unable to discriminate between justice and injustice—between a policy which gives them protection and a policy which neglects or disregards their personal rights. It is an ungracious and unwelcome task to criticise, in what may seem to be a hostile spirit, the administration and the behavior of the Japanese in Korea; but I am extremely anxious that they should succeed and prosper there, and it seems to me better to deal with the situation honestly and frankly than to pretend that everything is all right when I know that it is not all right. Next week I shall describe the difficulties that have hindered the Japanese and the real progress that they have made.

Where Socialism Was Tried

By W. D. P. Bliss

THE traveler who climbs the Acropolis at Athens will find that there is only one way of approach to the Parthenon. Seen, near at hand, from any other standpoint, the great temple appears out of drawing. There is, as is well known, in the whole edifice not a single straight line. Everywhere in the structure, from base to pediment, on column and on cella, there are only curves—ektasis and entasis—the curvings out and the curvings in of matchless lines. Viewed from all points save one, these curves are apparent and seem out of place, even as, from that one point of view, each marvelous line falls into place, seemingly straighter than straight, and giving to the great building that unequaled life, that sense of lightness and of grace, wedded to sublimity, which modern architecture does not know enough even to copy. Cunningly did the artful Greek compel the visitor to take that point of view by creating but one public access to the temple—that just at the right point—and erecting here the Propylæa.

It is the endeavor of this article to approach the social structure of ancient Athens, not from the ordinary, individualistic, nineteenth-century point of view, but from the ancient Greek point of view, from that conception of society where, as Professor Ingram tells us, "the individual is conceived as subordinated to the State, through which alone his nature can be developed and completed, and to the maintenance and service of which all his efforts must be directed." So viewed—if one can look at bare facts, rather than at accepted explanations of those facts—he will be almost startled at what he will find. Did they try Socialism in ancient Athens? Let us turn to the indubitable record.

We begin by noting that they did, in one way or another, produce marvelous individualities in Athens. Says Dr.

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Francis Galton, of the highest authority in anthropological science, "A population of ninety thousand produced two men, Socrates and Phidias, whom the whole population of Europe has never equaled, and fourteen men of an ability of which the Anglo-Saxon race has only produced, in two thousand years, five equals." He asserts that the average ability of the Athenian race was about as much above that of the English race as that race is above the African negro. This is a strong statement, and yet J. A. Symonds, one of the foremost literary and artistic critics of our own or of any day, favorably quotes it, and says that the population of classic Athens, taken as a whole, was perhaps as superior to ours as our race is to that of the Australian savage.

But let us record some of these individualities, and put against each name the years during which they lived, or, if this is unknown, when they produced their greatest works, as it will be seen that this element of the period will play an important and a vital part in our argument.

What a record it is! Socrates (469–399 B.C.), Plato (428–347 B.C.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.); surely in the history of thought there are no greater names than these. In the drama, Æschylus (525–456 B.C.), Sophocles (495–406 B.C.), Euripides (480–406 B.C.)—here are the masters of the classic tragedy; while Aristophanes (444–380 B.C.) is the unique founder of the world's comedy. In history, Thucydides (470–404 B.C.) has perhaps no rival, while Xenophon (430–355 B.C.) has but few. In sculpture, Phidias (490–432 B.C.) and Praxiteles (390 B.C.) stand supreme, while Myron (480 B.C.) and Scopas (370 B.C.) occupy high place. In architecture, Ictinus and Callicrates, the architects of the Parthenon (438 B.C.), and Mnesicles, the builder of the Propylæa (437 B.C.), produced works, of their period certainly the most beautiful, and of all periods the most perfect buildings in the world. In painting, Polygnotus (460 B.C.) did work which cultured Athens placed on a par with her sculpture. In oratory, every school-boy knows of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.), every college boy of Æschines (389–314 B.C.); while their contemporaries compared Lysias (445–378 B.C.) and Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) with these. In statesmanship, Pericles (495–429 B.C.), Cimon (504–449 B.C.), and Themistocles (514–449 B.C.) are names that would stand out in any history; while in generalship, Miltiades (490 B.C.), the hero of Marathon, and Nicias, the leader in the Spartan wars, can never be forgotten. Other names, among them Alcibiades (450–404 B.C.), Cleon (422 B.C.), Thrasybulus (390 B.C.), Lycurgus, the orator (395–323 B.C.), and Myronides (457 B.C.), belong to this period. Thirty-one names! Where in history is there another city that can produce even an approximation to such a record?

But notice the dates. Every one of these great names appeared in the one hundred and fifty-two years between the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.) and the Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). Was this an accident? Let us seek the cause.

It has been said that this marvelous outflowering of genius was due to Athens's political and military supremacy during that period. But all through these years Athens was fighting often for her very life—with Persia, with Sparta, with the other Greek States; and, in spite of some most brilliant victories, was again and again defeated, the city itself being twice captured during this very time, once burned by the enemy, and once having her walls razed by the ground. Not a very large basis here for the theory of military and political supremacy. Let the advocates of the war basis compare the intellectual development of the repeatedly captured Athens with Constantinople, which during twenty-five hundred years has been besieged thirty-one times, and captured only twice.

It is contended that the Athenian greatness was due to race. But the Ionic race was not limited to Athens. It largely peopled the islands and shores of the Ægean. Its colonies extended from Trapezus (Trebizond) on the Black Sea to Massilia (Marseilles) and Sagumtum in the western Mediterranean. Nor did it exist only during those one hundred and fifty-two years. Classic Athens may be said to have endured at least

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fifteen hundred years, from the eleventh century B.C. to the closing of her schools of philosophy by the Christian Emperor Justinian in 529 A.D. If race was the cause, why did it only so operate in one city and during one comparatively short period?

Was the cause in the climate and physical environment? These remain in Athens yet, comparatively unchanged, but except during this period what have they produced? Still

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea,"

but Marathon to-day has no Miltiades, and his modern successors defend no academies of Plato or of Aristotle, and only the ruins of the Parthenon of Phidias and of Pericles. Byron is right:

"The Isles of Greece! The Isles of Greece!
Where burning Sapho loved and sung,—
Where grew the arts of war and peace,—
Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet!
But all except their sun is set."

The glory of Athens during those one hundred and fifty years is scarcely more marked than the absence of great names in the remaining two thousand eight hundred and fifty years of Athenian history. What cause, then, was there operating during that unique period, but not operating before or since? We know of only one—an essentially and radically socialistic organization of the city. This did prevail, as we shall see, during that exact period, and that only.

What is a socialistic organization of a city? The ownership and operation of land and capital collectively by the city, for the good of its citizens. Did Athens under Pericles have this? No student of Boeckh's "Public Economy of Athens," nor one who can put together the statements of hundreds or thousands of passages in the classic Greek authors, can well deny this. Athens owned lands, mines, forests, farms, houses, markets, which it worked, under one form or another, for the profit of the citizens. Its citizens did not support the city; the city supported the citizens—at least all such as needed support. Out of the revenues derived from its possessions, Athens practically guaranteed a livelihood to every citizen. Have we not here the essence of a very complete Socialism? Yet how truly this prevailed in Athens can be seen only as we enter into some detail.

It is necessary to make some distinctions. There was in Athens no attempt at any community or even equality of goods. Aristotle scoffed at such ideals, and Aristophanes burlesqued them. Athens was not communistic. But then this is not Socialism. Socialism and Communism are distinct. Once again, Athens was not socialistic in any modern ethical sense of the word, as based on ideals of human brotherhood or theories of universal equal rights. The fellow-citizens of Socrates and of Plato knew no such theories. The individual, *per se*, they did not recognize. He was an ἴδιος—a no-man, an idiot. Athens's Socialism was distinctly selfish. Her citizens instituted it simply because they believed it to be for their own interests. It was of the city, for the citizens, and for no one else. Aliens, even residents in Athens, had no share in it. Slaves were not citizens, and scarcely considered human. Economically they were not men and women, but marvelous tools worked to produce for the citizens. They were a part of the capital of the day—as Aristotle distinctly asserts—and therefore, like other capital, often owned by the city and made use of for the citizens. Here is no modern ethical Socialism. Nor any more was it "scientific" according to "Das Kapital." In many respects it was not a formal Socialism at all. Yet, in spite of all this, how virtually and radically socialistic it was we must now see.

It practically asked from each citizen according to his ability, and gave to each according to his need. This was accomplished in the main by two institutions: the so-called "liturgics," securing from the rich gratification for the less fortunate, and above all by the "dicasticon," or daily money payment for public service, given to any citizen who wished it, and in quantity sufficient to enable him to live upon it in respectability and ordinary comfort. It was the latter institution which above all made Athens socialistic, and was introduced by Pericles, as we may clearly learn, among other sources, from Aristotle (Politics

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II., 12) and Plato (Gorgias, 575). We will consider the latter first.

The dicasticon was the daily money payment, first of one obol and later of three, to any Athenian citizen who did duty as a *dicast* or juror in the multitudinous courts of Athens. One obol is three cents—seemingly a small affair, and yet, as we shall see, measured by Athenian prices, sufficient to maintain life in respectability and comfort, and paid sufficiently frequently to form, Mahaffy tells us ("Old Greek Life," p. 68), "an income on which most of the poorer citizens lived." It was paid for this purpose. Athenian courts were held not only for her citizens, but for all the allied cities subject to her leadership. They were therefore numerous and practically continuous. It has been calculated that six thousand persons received the dicasticon each day, supporting perhaps thirty thousand persons (including wives and children), or some third of the free population.

And this payment was only the principal one of several similar payments. It was for service in the courts; but for attendance at the *ecclesia*, or popular assembly, to which also any Athenian citizen could go, there was another payment, an *ecclesiasticon*, varying at different times from one to nine obols (twenty-seven cents). Moreover, the city saw to it that her poorest citizen could enjoy the drama and the religious festivities, both of which were considered municipal functions which it was important that every citizen should attend. Therefore the poorer citizens were paid a *theoricon* of two obols for the drama and various payments for the different religious festivities which in Athens were more numerous than in any other city. Xenophon, indeed, tells that festivals like the Panathenia and the Dionysia were more for the benefit of the poor than for worship of the gods. At some of these festivities three hundred oxen were slain at city expense and given to the poor. Distribution of corn was of frequent occurrence.

These payments were for any citizens; but to especial classes were given especial and larger sums. Those elected to the *Boule*, or Council, were, of course, paid, as were all attorneys, clerks, soldiers, policemen, and minor officials of every kind; so also were orators, poets, singers, artists; to the orphans and widows of soldiers, to the unfortunate and disabled, abundant pensions were extended. No citizen of Athens who was in health and willing to do a little service for the State had any need of continuing in want.

And see what these payments meant. Professor Boeckh, in his "Public Economy of Athens," estimates that prices in Athens, under Pericles, were at least ten times lower than in modern times. He who received three obols a day therefore received the equivalent of ninety cents to-day. He probably received vastly more compared with modern city prices. Demosthenes speaks of a little house worth seven minæ (about $126). Houses could be bought for half that, or rented for five dollars per year. An ordinary slave brought about thirty-six dollars; meat (prepared for dinner) cost half an obol, and a warm drink, a chalcus, or half a cent. A fashionable tunic could be bought for two dollars, and a workman's raiment for much less. Furniture was of the simplest, yet beautiful and durable. Demosthenes, with his mother and sister, were brought up on seven hundred drachmæ a year ($126). It must be remembered, too, that the greatest Athenians lived in the simplest way. Therefore those who were paid their three obols a day could not only live, but live as did the best.

Whence did this money come? Largely in socialistic ways. The foundation of the Attic treasury was the State-owned silver mines at Laurium, worked or leased for the profit of the city. Besides these the city owned lands (farms and building lots), forests, pastures, salt-works, markets, storehouses, other buildings, and leased them or worked them with slave labor for the common good. Next to these sources of income, probably, was the tribute paid by the allies, subject in reality to Athens, by her colonies and conquered territories. Beyond this were the taxes on the large foreign population of Athens and the duties on imports and exports. Athenian citizens paid no tax, except, perhaps, one on

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slaves, though all paid dues or fees for services in the courts. Such were the main regular sources of Athens's revenue.

But this was by no means all. The rich were made to pay, not indeed taxes, save on slaves, but the liturgics mentioned above. These were payments, virtually compulsory, made from time to time by wealthy individuals to establish and endow games, banquets, festivities, literary or musical contests, and largely for the benefit of the poor. Such were the *Choragia* or musical contests between drilled choirs, the *gymnasia* or gymnastic contests, the *theoria* or State festivals.

And be it remembered that all this expenditure for the poor was socialistic, not given in charity. The citizen worked for his pay. It was not the *panis et circus* of the Roman imperialism. Athens was democratic, not paternal. So far as her free citizens went she was fiercely democratic. Says Bluntschli ("Theory of the State"): "Democracy found its most logical expression in Athens." Says Pericles in his immortal Funeral Oration, preserved by Thucydides: "We are happy in a form of government . . . original at Athens; and this our form, as committed, not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy." Readers of Plato will remember how he makes Protagoras say of the Ecclesia, "When some question of civil polity is to be discussed, any one rises up and gives his advice, whether he be a builder, a brazier, a shoemaker, a merchant, a ship captain, rich or poor, of high birth or of low degree, and no one makes objection." The more one studies, the more one sees how socialistic was the city.

And now can we not plainly see how all this bore on the production of individuality? The Athenian was delivered, in the first place, from the *necessity* to worry and "hustle" for a mere livelihood. Any Athenian who wished it was allowed to devote his life to money-making. Some did, and accumulated wealth. But such were few, and those few were compelled to spend their money for the public good. The vast number of Athenians preferred, and were encouraged to prefer, other things. Commerce and trade were generally despised, and usually left to foreigners or slaves. Bankers were sometimes slaves. What Athens did encourage was art, learning, the intellect, philosophy. To accomplish this she did do two things: first, she made it possible by her payments for all to enter these pursuits; and, secondly, she created emulation and rivalry in those lines by her contests and public festivals. Athens believed in competition, but not of the market. Athens's four hundred were artistic, not commercial. Can we wonder that such a system encouraged, fostered, produced high individuality? Where else in history has such a system been tried?

The greatest tragedies of Æschylus and of Sophocles were produced as plays in prize contests. Compare them with modern prize plays. They were not produced for money, and were for a different audience. The audiences were the judges; and they were capable, trained to judge. The drama, supported by the State, had no need of being ruled by the box-office, and the people, given money to go to the best and judge the best, became capable of the best. Hence the "Medea," "Electra," the "Prometheus Bound." It was so with architecture, with sculpture, with oratory. It was, above all, so with philosophy. The poorest Athenian citizen could go to Plato's Academy or Aristotle's Lyceum. Artisans could talk with Phidias and cobblers discuss with Sophocles. The City-State thus made possible and called out in every citizen the disposition to know and follow the Best. Now, this system of payments began, it is known, with Pericles; it ended in the downfall of Greece at Chæronea.

But why, we shall be asked, did Greece fall? For many reasons. Greece was not moral. Her Socialism, we have said, was selfish. Her public men were often corrupt; her family life was impure. Greece, too, was not socialistic. She was at best but a loose federation of competing republics She fell before a united Macedon, even as Macedon fell before the larger unity of the Roman Empire. But did they not try a virtual Socialism in Athens? And while it endured, did it not produce an individuality elsewhere unequaled in the world?

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Should Porto Rico be Self-Governing?

By Hobart S. Bird

BECAUSE Porto Rico is physically too impotent to demand our respect, there is general apathy concerning her appeal for self-government. The Outlook is one of the very few publications in this country that has accorded the recent action of the Convention of Municipal Delegates at San Juan (July 25) a decent hearing. Whether the contentions of the islanders are worthy of consideration or not, the fact that a million people are practically unanimously discontented and dissatisfied and appealing to their foster-mother for certain modifications in their form of government should call forth from us and our Congress, the sole repository of power to grant the petition, a respectful consideration. Numerous previous petitions, resolutions, and memorials of a like nature have emanated from representative bodies of the island, including the House of Delegates, without attracting any special attention here. This last appeal is probably the most moderate and rational of them all.

This Convention was composed of one delegate from each municipality (one delegate only wanting, but not from lack of acquiescence or interest), all chosen by the municipal councils, which bodies are elected by the people. The municipalities being contiguous districts, including in the aggregate all the rural as well as urban territory of the island, the people were fully represented. The action of the Convention was unanimous in asking for a certain reform of the fundamental law that would largely transfer the control of the local government to their own people. The Governor would remain a Presidential appointee, but the appointments by the Governor would be subject in many cases to revision by a locally elected Senate, except the courts, which would remain as now, for the most part, under our direct control. In other words, the legislative and largely the administrative functions, subject to the limitations of the Organic Act, would be exercised by the Porto Ricans. The courts, of our own choosing, would construe limitations on these powers, and the Governor, with his police and militia, would be solely responsible for order and the lawful execution of lawful mandates.

Could such power be substantially granted without impeding the progress and prosperity of the island or jeopardizing the interests of the Nation? Would such a concession satisfy them, or suffice to divert the insular mind from the ever-incandescent theme of self-government to local issues and industry and business? What has been the political history and experience of these people as bearing upon their capacity for such self-government? These matters should be earnestly inquired of, and the arguments pro and con honestly passed upon. The questions should not be dismissed as of no consequence because of our secure grasp on the whip handle, if we expect to be successful in colonization and in our relations with other Latin peoples. Already the discontent in Porto Rico is making a perceptible impression upon the leading minds of other Latin-American countries—a more perceptible impression, I believe, than is made upon ourselves.

The question should not be whether Porto Rico would be governed by her people more satisfactorily to us, but whether it would be governed more satisfactorily to them. Their criterion, not ours, should be the test; theirs it is to suffer the burdens and enjoy the benefits of their government. There are, however, certain primary objects of government that must be reasonably secured as a prerequisite to contentment. These we have secured to ourselves largely by constitutions. We should consider what are the fundamental essentials for Porto Rico's advance, and if by the same means they cannot be insured to these people.

The principal fears entertained by us concerning a government controlled by the islanders are: that peace and order would not be maintained, and personal

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and property rights respected; that unwise class legislation would be indulged in; that religious liberty would not remain inviolate, and non-sectarian public instruction would be abandoned or seriously impaired; that injustice and partiality in the judiciary would become the rule instead of the exception; that the principles governing the imposition of taxes and the assessment of property would be based upon favoritism instead of equality, and that the fiscal system in general would become demoralized.

These fears are largely illusory, and where there is cause for their existence they are greatly exaggerated. With wise limitations in the Organic Act, for the most part, they disappear. If peace and order were not maintained, the Governor and his police would be at fault. This is a branch of the service entirely and unrestrictedly under his personal direction, and would, under the proposed change, remain so. He is the commander-in-chief of all the police of the island, and every policeman, in whatever city, town, or rural section, is subject to his absolute order. A well-known policy of impartiality would prevent any complications with local politicians or authorities to the detriment of peace and order or the safety of persons and property. He would be responsible, as Chief Executive, for the lawful execution of lawful judgments, decrees, and orders of the courts. Complete remedial power to correct abuses of a judicial nature would rest in his hands, controlling, as he does and as he would, all the courts of general criminal and civil jurisdiction and their officers; and the appellate court is appointed and removable by the President. If the Legislature should persist in any of the anticipated excesses, in violation of the Organic Act and over the Governor's veto, the courts are again a check, and it should be remembered that power to review lies in the Supreme Court of the United States. But if it were possible for a manifest impropriety to pass all these, Congress has the absolute power to annul. The Organic Act could fitly restrain a violation of religious liberty or a check in non-sectarian education, and fiscal limitations are very appropriate and usual, and would be equally effective. With these restrictions, it is very difficult to see how the Porto Ricans could go radically wrong unless we went with them.

Would such reform satisfy the Porto Ricans? Would it serve to divert their minds from the troublous question of self-government to more profitable issues—to local issues involving the material interests of the island? At present there can be no local issues upon which the political parties can divide. No party can be fixed with the responsibility for anything good or bad, great or small, minute or remote. All parties and all the people are on the one side of the only issue that can demand attention. This necessarily reduces a political campaign to personal scandal, insults, and intense bitterness, which know no limit. Personal abuse in the political organs runs riot. Nothing is considered too filthy or indecent to be paraded in public. Shootings and bloodshed result. Such crimes come to be considered more or less as legitimate vengeance, and convictions for the boldest murders become difficult. The general effect of the absence of a material issue among the Porto Ricans is demoralizing.

Contentment is a comparative term. It would be hasty to conclude that all disaffection would be eradicated by such reform, but that it would be materially reduced seems quite evident. There were apparently more contentment and more general acquiescence under recent Spanish régimes than now. Let us inquire of their former government and learn something of their progress in autonomy up to the time of our invasion, and learn the cause of this, if possible.

Shortly before our occupation a system of government was inaugurated and in actual operation, at least in form more democratic and autonomous than that of our own Territories, and with greater powers in some respects than our own sovereign States possess. It cannot be said, either, that this was an abrupt departure from all former precedents and a rash experiment of doubtful propriety. The history of the island for a century past abounds in references to popular elections, political parties contending for supremacy on issues involving the politi-

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cal, moral, and material needs, constitutional limitations, demands for various reforms, the abolition of slavery, the freedom of the press, the equality of taxation, the control of the budget, and the other things marking a people striving for political freedom.

Elections for Deputies to the Spanish Cortes from Porto Rico are recorded as early as 1820. In that year one General O'Daly became very popular by reason of his services in securing Ferdinand VII.'s signature to the Constitution, and was elected by the people of the island by a large majority. Popular suffrage was abolished in 1823 for a period, and in 1837 the people were aroused into indignation over the action of the Cortes in depriving Cuba and Porto Rico of representation in that body. Popular suffrage for other purposes continued, however, for those who paid a direct tax of twenty-five pesetas (three dollars) or more. In 1865, by popular election, the islanders selected commissioners to proceed to Madrid to treat with the Government for reform. As a consequence, in 1868, their full representation in the Cortes was restored and a new and more liberal form of government for the colony promulgated. In 1870 the inhabitants were made full Spanish subjects, with other concessions granted. The struggle of the people with their rulers and the political convulsions that make up the history of Spain for the last half of the century are faithfully reflected in the island's affairs, the changes in the laws accurately following the alternate monarchical and republican régimes in the Peninsula; but the full representation of the island in the national legislature remained unimpaired. There was little or no interruption of the elective franchise after 1870, but a considerable advance was made in extending it to the illiterate and non-taxpaying classes. The people during this time regularly elected their sixteen Deputies and three Senators in the Cortes, who had full power and equal representation with the Spanish Senators and Deputies, and they elected all the members of their "Diputacion Provincial," an insular body with limited power, as well as their municipal authorities.

The three years before the Spanish War were a period of lavish grants of self-governing power to the islanders. These are contained principally in the Electoral Law, the Municipal Law, the Provincial Law, and the Autonomy Act. These laws further extended the elective franchise, increased the power and importance of the locally constituted authorities, removed restrictions and reduced limitations upon municipal governments, and established a self-governing régime —a perfect autonomy—which was the outgrowth of centuries of experience of a highly intelligent people with this race.

This was a government of the Porto Ricans, and by them, if not for them. The Governor was appointed by the Crown, but the four Secretaries of Government, with their President, like a Premier, were chosen by the native Parliament, and were all natives of the island of the people's choosing. The lower chamber and a majority of the members of the upper chamber of Parliament were elective, as well as some subordinate governing bodies and the municipalities. The Governor had no veto, but he could forward to the home Ministry any law he considered to be a violation of the constitution or rights of citizens, and if the Madrid authorities did not return the same, with objections, within two months, he was required to proclaim it. The Parliament, besides exercising other legislative powers, framed the export and import tariff schedules, and intervened to revise or ratify any treaties affecting the island made by Spain with foreign countries. The commerce with the mother country was regulated, however, by certain fixed rules, but with the co-operation of the insular delegates and the home government. All the appointive officials were required to possess certain minutely prescribed qualifications. In the case of the minority members of the Council—the upper chamber of the Parliament—who were appointed by the Crown, there were eleven requisites, one of which was that they be natives of Porto Rico and have resided there for the four years preceding their appointment, except that any one of the fifty largest taxpayers of the island could be appointed without other qualification.

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Appointments in all branches of the public service were likewise restricted, with an elaborate competitive merit system, and the removing power could be exercised only for cause shown.

But it is charged that the autonomy provided for in these and former laws was not realized in fact; that the Governor-General and his Cabinet, with the power to resort ultimately to military force, overawed and dominated all branches of the service; that voters were intimidated and coerced into voting the Government ticket, and that protests to Madrid were unavailing. Similar charges are now made with equal positiveness and persistence, and in equal numbers, while the accused Cabinet is not of their people. Whether these charges are now more or less justly made is a matter upon which opinions differ—practically all the Americans on one side, and many Porto Ricans on the other. We should not, however, permit ourselves to believe that we are proof against all such vices. This fact should be stated. In 1902 the Republicans (allied with the administration) against the Federals carried five of the seven districts of the island, and thirty-one of the forty-four municipalities. In 1904 the Unionists, the successors of the Federals (allied with the new administration), against the Republicans carried five of the seven districts and a larger proportion of the municipalities. The issues at the two elections were the same, and there was no pretense that any perceptible change of sentiment had taken place. In the election of 1902 the Government ordered that a majority of Republicans compose the election board in each precinct in the island; and at the last election a similar advantage was given the Unionists in the best fortified Republican districts.

It was this autonomous government here described, fully constituted with a native Cabinet and native officials in control and a native Parliament in session, that was interrupted by a declaration of war and an invasion of our troops. The struggle to this end had been long and persistent, and this result only just attained, when General Miles landed and announced to the inhabitants that he had come, not to make war upon them, but to seek out and expel the enemies of their country and his, and to bestow upon them the blessings of our liberal institutions. What could this mean but more unrestricted autonomy? In fact, General Miles's proclamation meant to the people that their local government was thereafter, under the democratic principles of the United States, to be subject only to the will of their people, and that they were, furthermore, to have full representation and active participation in our National affairs. Surely, their Governor was to be elected by them, or, if appointed, to be of them, and no retrogression in representative government would be tolerated by our people.

Is it strange that they are dissatisfied, after waiting more or less patiently for seven years to determine their status, to find that they are to be permanently robbed of all influence or representation in National affairs (save only a delegate in Congress); that their rulers, not subject in the least, directly or indirectly, to their will, are to exercise this sovereign power over them, wholly unrestricted and unlimited by any constitution or fixed law, with no hope that the people back of our Government will demand a change; that the local government so provided for them is one in which they have little participation and over which they have no control, and is administered by aliens, unsympathetic by nature and opposed to their most cherished customs and conventions of long standing—aliens who, moreover, overturned and repealed, against their will, practically all their established laws and modes of procedure, substituting new and strange standards of conduct in nearly every path of life? In short, that constitutional and representative government has disappeared from their land, is the fundamental complaint of the Porto Ricans.

The Porto Ricans are accustomed to constitutional limitations, accustomed to more minute restrictions than are we, and I cannot believe that any reasonable provisions in the Organic Act, directory or prohibitory, would be seriously objected to. Placing the initiative in their own hands, even quite closely confined

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within adequate limits, would serve as a wonderful balm to the wounds they consider we have inflicted.

What would the Porto Ricans do with this power? They claim they would render a good account of themselves, as good as the Cubans, if not better. They could, if they would, reduce their budgets, at least to the figures prevailing under Spanish rule, and they could, if they would, improve their various services in many ways. Can we say they would not? Should we not guard against certain extremes we fear, and allow them, within these limits, to do as they would, accounting to themselves for their errors, thus spreading contentment instead of disaffection? Let us do unto others as we would that they should do unto us, making Porto Rico a self-governing territory, instead of a chattel whose chief utility must eventually become a dumping-ground for political favorites and carpetbaggers.

A New Book about Lowell[1]

By Thomas Wentworth Higginson

THERE are two classes of biographical works, varying essentially in their points of view, and having each its own value. The first class includes those memoirs written by contemporaries and thus necessarily reflecting, more or less, the atmosphere which surrounded in life the subject of their biography; while the second class comprises those books which come from men of a younger generation, who have never looked into the eyes of the man of whom they write or heard the tones of his voice. The first alone makes personal contributions, however slight, from the biographer's memory; but it is the younger class of writers that first speaks for the future and begins to predict, however unconsciously, the final verdict. It is this last contribution which Mr. Greenslet has given us, with unexpected amplitude and value, in his new life of Lowell.

The word "unexpected" is used here not because of any distrust which the critic has or need to have in Mr. Greenslet's training or ability—a thing already shown so fully in the "Atlantic Monthly" and elsewhere—but rather because of the peculiar difficulties offered by the subject. It may be safely said that there has been no American writer who is personally so hard to deal with as Lowell. This proceeds first from his complex inheritance of qualities from the father's and mother's side, and then from the utter destruction of two blocks of material on which, but for their removal, the biographer of his formative period would most have relied, and the loss of which leaves two great gaps at that essential period. These gaps are, it is fair to say, equally to be felt in Norton's, in Scudder's, and in Greenslet's memoirs, and this from no fault of the biographer, but simply because the materials were wanting.

The first and most important of these omissions consists in the correspondence between Lowell and his wife during their period of engagement before marriage; these letters being so frank and mutually communicative as to reveal their whole lives, and having been circulated freely in their day among their whole circle of friends in Cambridge. These letters, when first read in later years by their only surviving child, the late Mrs. Burnett, affected her with such a sense of wonder and sacredness that she destroyed them all. The point most essential about them was visible in the verdict expressed by this daughter herself. She told the present writer that she said to a friend, speaking of her mother, after reading these letters, "Lillian, she made papa!" This astonishment came from the fact that this daughter had only known her mother, during her own childhood, as an invalid, and had been almost wholly trained by her stepmother, then her governess, so that she learned for the first time, after her mother's death, what a woman she was. It is an

[1] *James Russell Lowell: His Life and Works.* By Ferris Greenslet. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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incidental result of this testimony that it absolutely refutes one of the most emphatic generalizations of Mr. Greenslet, where he says (p. 242), "Up to middle life his [Lowell's] friendships were chiefly with men. Like his own Fitz Adam, he seems a little to have misliked woman."

Besides this immense vacuum, another is created, only less important, by the destruction, through mutual consent, of Lowell's whole correspondence with Edmund Quincy, his co-editor of the "Anti-Slavery Standard" and a man singularly fitted by social qualities to influence and mold a man like Lowell. Such gaps as these are not to be supplied. Each biographer must fill them for himself. It will be found on examination that all the later wealth of Lowell's correspondence, as given in each of his three biographies, begins after Maria Lowell's death, and Mr. Greenslet himself well says, "With 1854 Lowell entered upon his age of reason and of prose."

No doubt this subsequent age is very interesting, but the inevitable omission of the formative period is a great drawback. The anti-slavery movement was a thing too absorbing, its atmosphere too stimulating both for mind and heart, including as it did the fate of a whole nation and of two races, to be omitted in the record of a nature so sensitive as Lowell's; a year or two of it left its impression negatively, if not positively, on the most equable temperaments, and still more on his. As one of the few men left who went through it with Lowell, the present writer can testify that no man ever threw himself into it more ardently than he, or let his judgment, tastes, likes and dislikes be more molded by it; and that there always seemed a slight atmospheric vacuum about his life after this seething period had passed by. All this want might not have been felt by those who had not known him earlier; but to those of his own age, or younger, who had sat by his side while Wendell Phillips spoke or Frederick Douglass spoke, the Lowell of their youth was forever gone.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that this was never an entire or unmanly reversal of opinion in Lowell, but perhaps only a gradual exhaustion of the early influence exerted by his wife. Just as he had for a time become a total abstinence man under her influence, but had not held to it, so his interest in the anti-slavery meetings passed by. It is fair to recognize that he did not, like many men who were reformers in youth, go to the opposite extreme. Like others of a higher class when they find their first enthusiasm waning, he became more liberal to those with whom he gradually ceased acting; gave them the liberty which he himself claimed, and wrote generously of them (Letters I., 157): "I do not blame Foster or Philbrick or Jackson for not being satisfied with me; but, on the other hand, I thank God that he has gradually taught me to be quite satisfied with them." This was dated May 21, 1849.

All the public life, and especially the English life, of Lowell is admirably handled by Mr. Greenslet; but it is when we come to the closing pages that we find in his book its crowning excellence. Beneath something of that tendency to subdivision and resubdivision of chapters into sections which is, perhaps, creeping too much from our schoolbooks and magazines into mature literary work, we find a series of unusually fine discriminations and uncommonly judicial praise and blame. We note what he well calls the "lack of firmness of outline" in Lowell (p. 277), the "lack of lucid order and labor of the file" (p. 278), and the "characteristic impatience of mind" (p. 280). On the other hand, we see acknowledged the "smack of native earth, that echo of bird songs" (p. 260).

But he finds, as a whole, a "lack of utter energy of conception, of completely painstaking craftsmanship, which made so large a proportion of his poems fall short of his own best" (p. 257), and points out the difference between Lowell's lines "On a Portrait of Dante" and Parsons's poem "On the Bust of Dante" (p. 257). "The mood of the one," he justly adds, "is as truly poetic as that of the other; but Parsons's poem had eternalizing form and Lowell's has not" (p. 257). Elsewhere Mr. Greens-

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let quotes Lowell's phrase "In the Cathedral"—

"The Grecian gluts me with its perfectness."

Lowell, as his critic points out, enjoyed an expressive gargoyle more than a faultless column, and many of his poems are spotted with gargoyles of phrase.

Beyond any other biography recently written among us, this book gives, by its execution, the impression of a distinct addition to the literary resources of our younger authors. To this praise no limitation can be given, unless it be in the occasional introduction of long words or overstrained combinations. To introduce, for instance, in one short sentence two such words as "intermittently" and "multitudinously" (p. 261); to speak of Lowell's revision as "always stylistic rather than structural" (p. 256); to say that no American poet "fulfilled his poetry more powerfully than Lowell with the spiritual sense of life" (p. 260)—these things imply too much self-indulgence in the writer. The chief defect in minor matters which the present critic finds in the book is in the inadequate treatment of Lowell's college life and the exaggeration implied in the statement, "The course of [Harvard] study in those days was of an incredible rigidity, and the hard pursuit of Greek, Latin, and mathematics was broken by no more enlivening subsidiary studies than Paley's 'Evidences,' Butler's 'Analogy,' and a little of the modern languages" (p. 18). Inasmuch as four at least of the modern languages were then accessible at Harvard, and were taught much more commonly by educated foreigners than is now the case, and inasmuch as the English department was under the charge of Edward Tyrrel Channing, under whose guidance Harvard College produced at least four times as many recognized authors as at any more recent period, we must demur at this whole statement. These details may not seem important, but as laying the foundation of a broad culture, even a period when students might be called upon to translate Shakespeare into Greek hexameters was not wholly to be despised.

It may be said of Lowell, in summing up, that he was a man rich beyond all other Americans in poetic impulses, in width of training, in varied experience, and in readiness of wit; that he was sometimes entangled and hampered by his own wealth; that he was unequal in expression, yet rising on the greatest occasions to the highest art; blossoming early, yet maturing late; with a certain indolence of temperament, yet defying this drawback and accomplishing all the results of strenuous labor; not always judicial in criticism, yet steadily expanding and deepening; retaining in age the hopes and sympathies of his youth; and dying, with singular good fortune, just after he had gathered into final shape the literary harvest of his own life.

Matins

By John Finley

These things I do engage to do:
Hourly to keep my doing true
To what my conscience knows;

To send my soul upon its round
Of this day's duty with no sound
Of plaining of my woes;

To live more worthy of their love
Whom I do love all else above—
And fight my rightful foes.

God give me guidance in my ways
To do the things I should;
God give me length and strength of days
To do the things I would.

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Comment on Current Books

Advanced Civics: The Spirit, the Form, and the Functions of the American Government. By S. E. Forman, Ph.D. The Century Co., New York.

A thoughtful, compact, direct, and comprehensive account of the machinery, operation, and problems of the governmental system of the United States, Dr. Forman's text-book is of value both to the student of civics, for whom it is primarily intended, and to the general reader who would better his understanding of the principles underlying as well as the forms of American government. The great number of topics dealt with prevents any exhaustive exposition, but the salient features of each are as a rule brought out clearly, while the treatment is, as it should be, thoroughly objective and at the same time inculcative of a high political morality.

Constable. By M. Sturge Henderson. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.

Constable is believed to have given the chief impulse to Corot's poetic simplicity and unity, as well as to the realism of Manet and Monet; hence we can hardly have too much information concerning one who was himself a very great painter, and who also stood at the parting of the ways between the old masters and the modern. The aim of his predecessors—Claude, Wilson, Gainsborough—had been to make a noble picture, with resemblance to nature as a subsidiary aim. Constable was perhaps the first of any one adequately to show that a landscape could be a good picture and also be realistic—that is to say, like nature. The present volume challenges comparison with Mr. Holmes's excellent biography published four years ago. Both biographers are notable for clearness, vigor, and discrimination. We are especially impressed, however, by certain statements in the volume before us—for instance, that Constable's naturalism in painting was as conscious and predetermined as was Wordsworth's in literature. Again, as to Constable's connection with the impressionist school, we read that he may not be regarded as its founder, though it is difficult to overestimate the serviceableness of his example.

Character of Renaissance Architecture. By Charles Herbert Moore. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $3.

This volume is admirably adapted to be a text-book for advanced classes in our universities and a reference book for readers generally. It will probably share in the estimation long given to the author's "Gothic Architecture," justly regarded as a standard work on that period. The following Renaissance period is, in architecture, less inspiring. To those familiar with Mr. Moore's other volume a peculiarly interesting part of the present one will lie in his discussion of the conditions which gave character to the fine arts of the Middle Ages, and, in contrast with them, the mixed influences actuating Renaissance artists. In a really creative way mediæval architects had wonderfully and nobly transformed the classic orders; not so the Renaissance architects. Mr. Moore declares the notion incorrect that the Renaissance use of the architectural orders was an adaptation of old elements to new conditions; on the contrary, as he affirms, such adaptation involves creative changes which wholly transform the original elements. To misadjust is not to adapt. In this connection Mr. Moore is particularly severe in his treatment of Palladio, whose influence was greater than that of any other Renaissance architect. Palladio is called merely "a grammatical formulist," a judgment which will not be universally accepted. As is fitting, Mr. Moore's informative text is clearly printed on a page not too large to be easily held. The illustrations are mainly from the author's own drawings; in a few cases he reproduces woodcuts from the works of old masters. We are glad to note that the index to the volume is specially copious and exhaustive.

Early Western Travels. 1748-1846. Vol. III. **Nuttall's Travels into the Arkansa Territory, 1819.** Illustrated. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

Nuttall was a Yorkshireman, of poor and humble family, self-educated, and a special student of natural science. He came to Philadelphia as an immigrant in 1808, was encouraged to carry on botanical research, and in this pursuit traveled extensively in the Southwest. Later on he was for a time curator of the Harvard botanical gardens, and is remembered chiefly as a thorough, accurate scientist. His record of travel belongs properly in this series, the interest of which we have repeatedly pointed out, because he made pioneer explorations in the Arkansas valley and elsewhere, wrote intelligently of Indian tribes, and led an adventurous life from choice. "To me," he said, "hardships and privations are cheaply purchased if I may but roam over the wild domain of primeval nature." His story is not often thrilling in its manner of telling, but it has some value as a record of early observation of Indian customs and of the primitive life of white pioneers.

Essays in Application. By Henry van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.

A group of twelve essays and addresses, which may be generally characterized as the creed or confession of an idealist and an application of his principles to life. This interesting volume will be more fully commented on at an early date.

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Handbook of United States Political History. Compiled by Malcolm Townsend. Illustrated. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston. $1.60, net. (Postage, 15c.)

Under quite an original plan and convenient form of arrangement the author has here collated an immense amount of historical information valuable for reference. One section, for instance, deals with "Political Parties," and under an alphabetical arrangement includes many scores of titles, such as "Scalawags," "Silver Greys," "Lily Whites," and other political designations; while another section treats in the same way, under the head "Political Vocabulary," words and phrases frequent in use in political matters and here clearly defined. These are only two of perhaps thirty topics treated in the book, which cannot fail to be useful on the reference shelf of any library.

Happy Life (The). By Charles W. Eliot, LL.D. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1.50, net. (Postage, 8c.)

A reprint, in very convenient form, of President Eliot's admirable address; a presentation of sane, simple, and wholesome philosophy of living.

Industrial History of the United States (The). By Katharine Coman, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., New York.

This is a text-book which deserves extended use. While the author has not always satisfactorily exhibited the economic forces underlying the great movements and events in the history of the United States, she has, on the whole, performed a difficult task well. Intensely interesting as is the story of the development of the United States on the material side, it is by no means easy to marshal the facts in an interesting way and at the same time bring out their significance; but this the author has succeeded in doing to a praiseworthy degree. Her book, of course, contains an abundance of statistics, and these are so handled that the narrative is virtually unbroken, while the semi-topical, semi-chronological method adopted facilitates a well-rounded presentation. When it is said that four centuries of growth are covered in a volume of less than three hundred and fifty pages of text, it will be readily understood that the survey is far from exhaustive. But it is surprisingly comprehensive, and for detailed study a well-selected bibliography is presented. Another useful feature is found in the numerous illustrations, which in themselves constitute a striking commentary on the differences between the economic and social conditions of to-day and those of a still recent past.

Introduction to the Study of Agricultural Economics. By Henry C. Taylor, M.S.Agr., Ph.D. (The Citizen's Library.) The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.25.

This is a discussion of economics as applied exclusively to agriculture. It discusses principles in a judicial spirit, and presents in concise form facts that are of significance. It belongs to the series entitled "The Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology."

Irrational Knot (The). By G. Bernard Shaw. Brentano's, New York. $1.50.

The earliest novel written by Mr. George Bernard Shaw, of no great value, but reprinted as a part of the edition of his works now coming from the press of Messrs. Brentano, notable chiefly for its very characteristic and entertaining preface.

Kristy's Surprise Party. By Olive Thorne Miller. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.25.

On her birthday Kristy's uncles and aunts, and some adult friends besides, call in a body, and each in turn relates a story, which Kristy enjoys very much, and which other little girls may enjoy also, as they are all printed in this book. The stories are clean, bright, and of considerable variety.

Life of Robert Burns (The). By John Gibson Lockhart. (Newly Edited.) A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 60c., net.

A compact volume, reasonably well printed, and presenting Lockhart's biography, one of the earlier and still one of the most interesting of the Lives of Burns.

Lohengrin: Son of Parsifal. By Oliver Huckel. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 75c., net.

A metrical translation of the words to Wagner's music drama, "Lohengrin," in the same style as that of the translator's version of "Parsifal." It gives to the reader a much better impression of the drama than the ordinary literally translated libretto can furnish.

Melody of God's Love (The). By Oliver Huckel. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 75c., net.

A series of meditative essays in poetic vein, but without great distinction of style, based upon the Twenty-third Psalm.

Miriam. By Julia Baldwin McKibbin. Eaton & Mains, New York. $1.25.

A story of the Old South of no literary value, and as foreign to fact as many others that have been written on similar lines. One rather curious bit of inaccuracy is the exchange of a cablegram between Europe and Dixie during war times when there was no Atlantic cable.

Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith (The). (The Caxton Thin Paper Series.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

A recent addition to the charming Caxton Series, bound in flexible leather, printed in large type on thin paper, containing the plays, "An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning," "Lives of Dr. Parnell and Lord Bolingbroke, and of Richard Nash," "The Mystery Revealed," and the poems.

Myths Every Child Should Know. Edited by Hamilton Wright Mabie. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 90c.

This volume is uniform with "Fairy Tales Every Child Should Know." It collects for children's reading and for school use sixteen myth-stories which belong to the world's literature and appeal to the young imagination. Hawthorne's "Wonder-Book" and "Tanglewood Tales" furnish half of the

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material—and rightly, for they are supreme in their field. Charles Kingsley's "Greek Heroes," Mr. Brown's "In the Days of the Giants," Mr. A. J. Church's "Stories from Homer," Mr. Mabie's "Norse Stories," and Miss Emerson's "Indian Myths" are the other sources. Mr. Mabie furnishes an introduction on the making of myths, and lays stress on their spontaneity and freedom from artificiality as the cause of their poetical force.

Negro in the Cities of the North (The). Illustrated. The Charity Organization Society, New York.

A valuable sociological study of a subject of prime importance is here presented in thirteen articles by specialists.

One Hundred Best American Poems. Selected by John R. Howard. (Handy Volume Classics.) Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 35c.

This selection was probably suggested to Mr. Howard while he was arranging the "Library of the World's Best Poetry," and is a companion volume to "The Hundred Best English Poems." In a modest preface the editor comments on the difficulty of the work he undertook, and in a way disarms criticism by foreseeing the diversity of opinion which must express itself whenever any individual critic or student of poetry attempts to pick out the "best" things in literature. He reinforces his selection by the fact that there is hardly a piece in the book which is not found in one of the larger collections. Beginning with Freneau and ending with Richard Hovey, the volume includes selections from every American writer of verse of any distinction, together with a little group of poems like "All Quiet Along the Potomac," "The Song of the Savoyards," and "Woodman, Spare that Tree!"—chosen, it may be suspected, not simply because they are popular, but because, in the judgment of the editor, they express some genuine emotion or ideal. From this point of view this little volume has its uses. Too much cannot be done, by making the best poetry accessible, to develop and diffuse the love of it among American readers. Mr. Howard has included many poems which every American ought to know, like "Thanatopsis," "The Death of the Wild Flowers," "The Rhodora," "The Chambered Nautilus," "Rhœcus," "For Annie," "The Bedouin Love Song," "Dreams," "O Captain! My Captain!" "The Barefoot Boy." There is ample room for discussion with Mr. Howard touching some of his selections; many readers would have been glad to give the space occupied by "The Eve of Election," for instance, among the Whittier poems to one or two of those short lyrics in which, better than anywhere else, in a purely poetic way and with deep religious feeling, the Quaker poet expressed his genius most distinctly; but the selection, as a whole, is very satisfactory.

Pisanello. By G. F. Hill, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.

Minutely conscientious work in art, inspired by a real love of the objects represented, and permeated by an atmosphere of naïve charm—such work was produced by the early Attic sculptors and by Italian painters of the Gothic age and at the beginning of the Renaissance. Of those painters Pisanello is a good representative, and the present volume is timely in giving to us some greater realization of one about whom too little has been known. As the work of the Greek sculptors at the end of the sixth century was necessary to make Pheidias's possible, so Pisanello's work was necessary as preliminary to that of the giants who were to follow. Indeed, in the North Italy of his time there was no painter who equaled Pisanello, and his domination was fairly complete until the rise of Mantegna. It is, however, as a medalist that Pisanello seems supreme in the art of all Italy, by his monumental, well-nigh epic quality of style. As Mr. Hill is careful to show, Pisanello's experience as a medalist also increased his power of plastic rendering of form in painting. The volume is one of the most interesting of an interesting series.

Prophets and the Promise (The). By Rev. Willis Judson Beecher, D.D. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $2, net. (Postage, 20c.)

Among recent books adverse to the modern critical view of the Old Testament Dr. Beecher's work has the rare and distinctive merit of commanding the respect of the critics whom he opposes. He frankly admits the defectiveness of the traditional view. He waives much that it has insisted on, and freely criticises its inadequacy. His presentation of the argument for the superhuman origin of Christianity, while essentially a restatement of the Christian tradition, so far differs from this that he even thinks it likely that "men who do not think things through" may regard it as an attack on that tradition. His attitude toward the modern view is non-polemic and respectful. Though he regards it as rather "starved and meager," he recognizes some value in it. Miracle or no miracle, an entirely historical or a more or less legendary record, the story of the prophets, simple citizens and manly men, repeating from generation to generation the promise of a divinely gifted king, the captain of Israel's salvation, reveals a unique element of national consciousness. Such forecasts, when compared with the coming and the work of Jesus Christ, exhibit "the Supreme Energy of the universe operating purposefully in human history." In this all Christian critics, however radical, would agree with Dr. Beecher. But his claim that this involves "divine interposition," or "superhuman inspiration" on any occasion during the period of prophetism, will be seriously contested by those who, while admitting the supernatural, define it differently from him.

Russian Revolutionary Movement (The). By Konni Zilliacus. Translated by the Authority and at the Request of the Author. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50, net.

A special interest attaches to this book at the present moment, because it was originally

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written for the purpose of persuading the people of Finland to ally themselves with the revolutionaries in the struggle for a free Russia. It is thus a piece of special pleading. But English readers will find that both in tone and content it is superior to the great majority of the many anti-bureaucratic treatises that have made their way out of Russia during the past few years. What Mr. Zilliacus does is to give an outline account of the political history of Russia from the Decembrist uprising at the accession of Nicholas I. to the sanguinary events of the early months of the present year, with particular reference, on the one hand, to the domestic policies of the several Czars, and, on the other, to the development of the revolutionary movement. There is apparent throughout a lively appreciation of the value of concrete statement of fact; and if partiality is likewise apparent, it must be conceded that the author makes very clear the forces cooperating to transform a class movement into a mass movement, and, as Leroy-Beaulieu has put it, to transfer "the struggle against administrative violence from the obscure, nebulous domain of Utopia to the firm ground of practical politics." A word of praise is due the unnamed translator, whose version is smooth, flowing, and altogether readable.

Sidney: Her Summer on the St. Lawrence. By Anna Chapin Ray. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

A story, for boys and girls, of the fun and troubles of some young people summering on the St. Lawrence, and of the earnest efforts of the sixteen-year-old heroine to arouse a despondent invalid to self-help. The characters seem posed and artificial.

Sir Raoul. By James M. Ludlow. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. $1.50.

This is a historical romance based on the facts of the Fourth Crusade, as related by Gibbon, in its diversion from the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher to the seizure of Constantinople. It is a tale of daring and thrilling adventure, in which noble and ignoble motives play contrasted parts. The mutual constancy of Sir Raoul, the German knight, and Renée, the Greek Emperor's fair cousin, runs like a silver thread through a web of misfortune, treachery, and violence. The technique is somewhat imperfect, but the manners, the superstition, the barbarism, of the time are faithfully portrayed. The plot is ingenious, the action vigorous, the turning-points extraordinary, the curtain is rung down on a domestic paradise.

Songs o' Cheer. By James Whitcomb Riley. Illustrated. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

Mr. Riley's poems almost always *are* songs of cheer, and the title is "well found." The dialect is here as true to life, the sympathy with child nature, country doings, and out-of-doors as lively and honest, the humor as genial, as in the dozen or so of this book's predecessors. Mr. Vawter's pictures, both colored and black-and-white, are praiseworthy.

Star Jewels and Other Wonders (The). By Abbie Farwell Brown. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.

A collection of wonder stories told in a simple and familiar way, but with a touch of poetry, a little play of imagination, and a refinement of feeling which separate them from most works of the same kind.

Story of the Champions of the Round Table (The). Written and Illustrated by Howard Pyle. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.

A companion volume to Mr. Pyle's "Story of King Arthur and His Knights," illustrated as that was with woodcuts admirably suited in manner and tone to the pseudo-antique style of narrative in which the deeds of Sir Launcelot and his fellow-knights are retold. Mr. Pyle succeeds unusually well in preserving the legendary and chivalrous atmosphere of his subject without dulling the interest by over-indulgence in archaic language. To boys not too young and of the right imaginative cast of mind the book should have the fascination which Malory's tales still have for a like class of elder readers.

University of Missouri Studies. The Clothing Industry in New York. By Jesse Eliphalet Pope. (Social Science Series, Vol. I.) University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

A study of the clothing industry in New York—the character of the laborers, their wages, the systems under which they work, their unions, and the like. In a chapter on the unions Professor Pope explains the action of the union in its recent strike, not as opposed to the open shop, but as really directed against the closed non-union shop.

Works of Abraham Cowley. Poems. Text Edited by A. R. Waller, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

A very convenient single-volume edition printed in large type, the text edited by Mr. A. R. Waller from the first collected edition of Cowley's works, published in 1688, the year after his death. This volume presents the variations noted in a collation of the 1668 text with the folio of 1656, the volume of 1663, and the edition of "The Mistress" which appeared in 1647. Errors which have been discovered in the poems are indicated by brackets and are explained in the Notes. A companion volume to be issued later is to contain the miscellaneous prose contents of the 1668 folio, Cowley's juvenile writings not collected by him, and his English plays, the two volumes presenting the entire body of Cowley's English writings.

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Correspondence

"Where Does God Come In"

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I was greatly interested in the letters "Where Does God Come In?" and "Where Does the Devil Come In?" I would like to ask, Is the Devil co-equal with God? It would seem so from some people's faith in the Devil.

If our faith is in *God*, then we must believe he controls wisely the universe, even though we cannot understand the forces which cause what seems to us disaster; and this is not ignoring the fact that there are evil and sorrow in the world. I should like to be enlightened on the subject. M. P. G.

[We can best answer your question in the words of H. W. Longfellow:

"It is Lucifer,
The son of mystery;
And since God suffers him to be,
He, too, is God's minister,
And labors for some good
By us not understood."

—THE EDITORS.]

A Strike of Women

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The six months' strike and lockout of women laundry workers in Troy, New York, is a significant incident in industrial history. Never before has a trade-union consisting entirely of women maintained so long a fight for trade-union principles—the rights of conference and definite bargain for new terms of work, the right of representation through a chosen agent, and the right of arbitration of difficulties after a "lockout." Besides the usual support and sympathy for strikers from trade-unionists throughout the country, a growing interest and support from a wider public is being developed.

The evidence in the case is in so far as the women collar-starchers are concerned, and the public is beginning to feel, in the absence of evidence from the manufacturers, that these women, who have stood ten hours a day for from five to thirty years, working with boiling hot starch in damp and heated rooms, have real wrongs which should be redressed.

The claim of the starchers is as follows: Eight manufacturers, engaged in a very profitable business on a scale which includes large buildings in many of the principal cities, are banded together in a contest against individual laundry women. Though having a Manufacturers' Association, it is claimed that they refuse to deal with a union of workers.

The grievances of these workers are connected with the introduction of new machines in a way which cuts wages; the uncertainty and irregularity of work; a system of arbitrary fines and docking; and very severe rules regarding punctuality, speaking and laughing, etc.

The direct occasion of the present trouble was the refusal of a superintendent to grant a conference to a committee of workers in one of the shops. The starchers refused to work without the conference, and were dismissed in a manner which greatly offended them. The starchers in the other seven factories of the Manufacturers' Association were then asked to starch the collars taken in this manner from their sister workers. This they unanimously refused to do, though agreeing to go on with their accustomed work as before. They were then locked out of all the seven other laundries.

Arbitration has been consistently refused by the manufacturers and agreed to by the Starchers' Union. The Mayor and members of the Chamber of Commerce, the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, and committees from the Woman's Trade-Union League and other bodies, have all received the same reply—"The girls have no grievances; there is nothing to arbitrate; therefore a conference would be impracticable."

There is no claim from the workers that sanitary conditions in the factory are not good. There can be no denying that there has been violence in the town, though the Union sternly forbids it, and no case of violence has been proven against any member. The President of the Union lays the responsibility for violence upon the shoulders of the manufacturers, who refuse peaceful adjustment through arbitration.

The collar-starchers of Troy certainly have grievances—a grievance is a subjective thing. This is proved by the fact that in six months of privation and anxiety not one member has gone back to work in the factories. There are about 1,200 women directly involved in the controversy—the 800 starchers and their helpers—and their protest and appeal has been the strongest ever made by a body of workingwomen.

It may be that the case of the workers is not so strong as they think. Should not the public make a powerful demand for evidence from the manufacturers, and for arbitration before an impartial board? Is it not the refusal of trade agreements, conferences, conciliation, and arbitration, that embitters the industrial conflict and threatens the National peace?

GERTRUDE BARNUM,
National Secretary Woman's Trade-Union League.
30 First Street, New York City.

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I like X-Ray better than anything I have ever used. Was advised to use ——— and ——— and by doing so nearly spoiled the looks of my range. Used X-Ray; now my range looks as it did when new.—Minnie R. Russell, West Somerville, Mass.

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X-Ray Stove Polish makes my stove look like a mirror. I never use any other.—Mrs. T. E. Nutt, Eastport, Me.

I have used X-Ray Stove Polish and found it satisfactory in every way. It does not burn off even with a very hot fire. It polishes easier than any I have ever used and I would not think of using any other brand.—Mrs. H. A. Curtis, Hackensack, N. J.

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The rate for notices in this Department is Five Cents for each word or initial, address included. Orders should be sent (with remittance) at least ten days before the date of The Outlook in which you desire the Want to appear. Answers may be sent in care of The Outlook (count four words for the address) and will be forwarded to you if postage is paid.

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DOMESTIC science graduate, also a graduate of the Boston Cooking School, desires a position as housekeeper or companion in private family or institution. Three years' experience. Good references. 2,459, Outlook.

WANTED—Working housekeeper, Bedford Station, New York. Box 41.

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REFINED, conscientious woman desires position as matron or housekeeper in institution or private home; experience with children. Address C. D., P. O. Box 155, Farmington, Conn.

POSITION by experienced managing housekeeper in institution, club, or apartment hotel. 2,462, Outlook.

LADY desires position as companion to elderly lady; willing to travel; or as mother's helper. 2,461, Outlook.

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HIGHLY recommended governess, German, excellent pianist, performer as well as teacher, speaks French, wishes position in a family or institute. Address A. T., 237 W. 24th St., N. Y. City.

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GRADUATE nurse desires position with party going South or California coming winter. Address Miss Clarke, Box 71, Milton, N. Y.

NURSE desires a case. Terms moderate. References. Thayer, 153 West 83d St.

TRAINED nurse desires care of invalid. Understands scalp and hair treatment with massage. Good housekeeper. Excellent references. 2,452, Outlook.

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REFINED, cultured lady of agreeable presence, valuable experience, would be companion; good shopper and traveler. 2,454, Outlook.

WANTED—By New York high school teacher, tutoring in Latin, Greek, or history, Saturdays or late afternoons or evenings of other days. Or would act as secretary or companion at time mentioned. 2,449, Outlook.

WANTED—Refined, educated, cheerful, strong, and tactful young woman as mother's helper and nursery governess for girl of seven. Some experience in teaching backward children. Willing to go South. S. H. Barrow, 26 Clarendon Place, Orange, N. J.

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AN educated, traveled American and his wife will take into their home and educate an intelligent, wholesome boy, eight to ten years old, as companion to their own bright, active little son, eight years old. Good parentage essential. Cozy home and two-acre garden, twenty miles from New York. References given and required. 2,458, Outlook.

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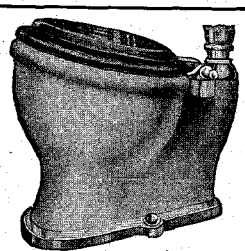

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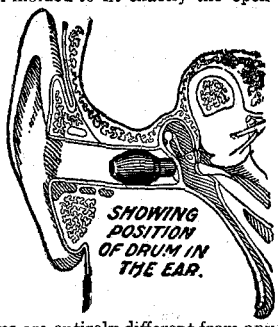

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